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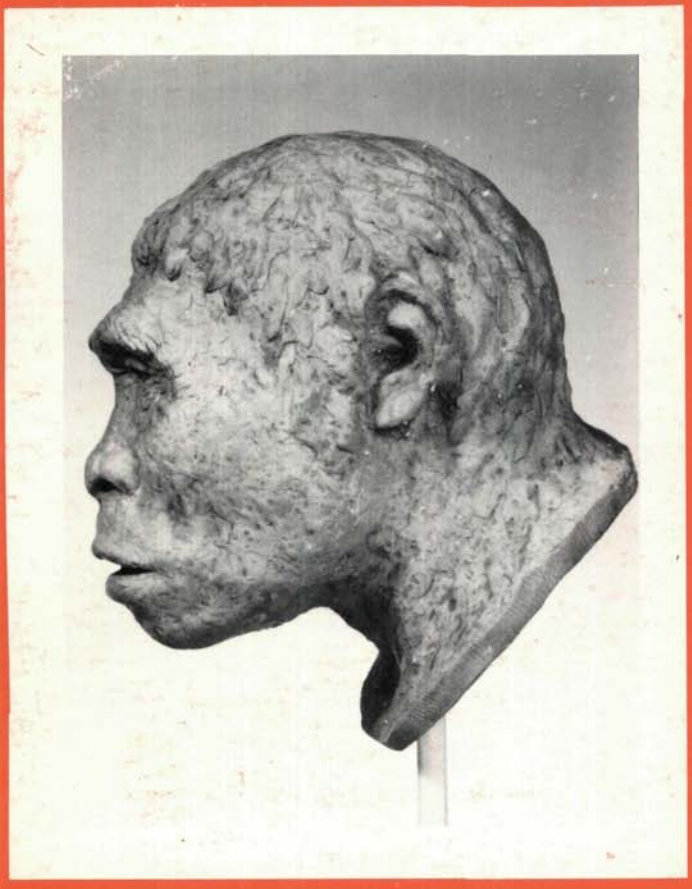

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ECOSYSTEM AND GENETIC SYSTEM

F. J. IRSIGLER

According to the central doctrine of neo-Darwinian (mutation-selection) theory, natural selection, as a response to the ecosystem, is the necessary and sufficient cause of evolution. (1) This equates evolution with natural selection.(2) The theory explains evolutionary change but gives no account of the origin of higher taxonomic units such as families, orders, and classes. In the fossil record, there is a systematical lack of origin sequences so that the ancestry, for example, of the mammalian orders, is inferred or remains conjectural. (3) Also, the cause-and-effect mechanism implies temporal precedence resulting in the chicken-and-egg dilemma. (4) Finally, the deterministic theory relies on unpredictable and uncontrolable chance or quantal events occurring in the genetic system.(5) It is assumed that they supply the raw material for natural selection to work on. (6)

The Concept Of Genetic Redundancy

This theory leans heavily on the one-to-one correspondence of classical Mendelism as formulated in the "one-gene-one-enzyme" hypothesis. The impact of post-Mendelian genetics on the classical view will now be illustrated very briefly by 1) introducing the important concept of genetic redundancy that underlies selection (and evolution) at the molecular level, and 2) applying this concept to an important step in hominid evolution.

* Dr. Irsigler, who is senior casualty officer at Paardekraal Hospital, Krugersdorp, presented this paper at the Congress of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science held at Nespruit, 19th-23rd August 1976.

(1) G. G. Simpson, in Anne Roe and G. G. Simpson (editors) *Behaviour and Evolution*, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1958.

(2) F. J. Irsigler, "The Gene's Place in Evolutionary Adaptation," THE MANKIND QUARTERLY, Vol. XV, No.4, April-June 1975, pp. 255-280.

(3) G. G. Simpson, *Tempo and Mode in Evolution*, Columbia University Press, 1944.

(4) J. Monod, *Chance and Necessity*, Collins, London, 1972.

(5) G. G. Simpson, *Behaviour and Evolution, op. cit.*

(6) J. Huxley, *The Wonderful World of Evolution*, Macdonald, London, 1969.

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1) The genome is not a pearl string of hereditary units; its functional arrangement is not linear or mosaic but hierarchical, and "selection," that is, evolution, takes place at all levels down to and including the molecular level. (7) The combinatorial potentialities inherent in such a system can be guessed by remembering that one gene consists of roughly 1000 base pairs. Only a minute fraction of what is going on in the genome is expressed in a way controllable by the ecosystem.(8) In so far as chromosomal polymorphism finds no expression in the visible phenotype it is clearly beyond the reach of environmental pressure. Morphologically, the part of the chromosome independent of environment is composed of highly repeated DNA sequences, the non-transcribable or satellite DNA's. (9) It is distributed, in the mammalian chromosome, in a symmetrical pattern defined by the nuclear organizer and the cistrons for the ribosomal RNA. The meaning of this arrangement is twofold: First, it represents what is called genetic redundancy or storage capacity in the gene pool. (10) Being indifferent to their carriers and in relation to the environment these heterochromatin segments are not subject to Darwinian selection and do not benefit their first carriers. However, due to their high degree of repetitiveness they are able to accumulate a large number of substitutions and yet remain undetected. (11) Second, the presence of neutral or inert DNA's makes it possible that genotypes that are not of immediate utility to the species may survive without being discarded by the trial and error mechanism. (12)

A remarkable instance of environment-independent, yet not random, chromosomal behaviour has been under investigation for a number of years by Dr. C. Wallace and his team in the

(7) A. Lima-de Faraia, "Selection at the Molecular Level," *Journal of Theoretical Biology*, Vol. 2, 1962, pp. 7-15.

(8) E. Mayr, *Animal Species and Evolution*, Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, 1966.

(9) J. J. Yunis, "Constitutive Heterochromatin and the Repeated DNA Sequences of Mammals," in *Symposia Medica Hoechst: Modern Aspects of Cytogenetics*, F. K. Schattauer Verlag, Stuttgart, 1973, pp. 5-17.

(10) E. Mayr, *op. cit.*

(11) A. Jacquard, *The Genetic Structure of Populations*, Springer, Berlin, 1974; J. Monod, *op. cit.*

(12) C. D. Darlington, *Evolution of Genetic Systems* (second edition), Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, 1958.

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Kruger National Park. (13) I am privileged to refer to this work in the present context. The phenomenon is classified in terms of chromosomal evolution and is associated with a reduction in the over-all chromosome number. It concerns both the impala species and the bovine family. So far, Dr. Wallace could not establish any peculiarities of the anatomy or behavior pattern in the carriers of aberrant karyotypes, nor is there any evidence that these genotypes are either favoured or discriminated against by the rather stable environment in the Kruger Park. The most likely assumption, at present, seems to be that the phenomenon represents the initial step in the direction of genetic isolation and split, (14) that is, in species formation, the basic element of evolution. This view is supported by circumstantial evidence that repeated progressive substitutions controlled by the genome itself are instrumental in populations that pass through an evolutionary bottleneck by undergoing a similar kind of silent "genetic revolution." (15)

2) Environmental determinism (milieu theory) assumes that geophysical upheavals such as orogenic episodes, marine transgressions, glaciations and the like with their associated phenomena involving the biosphere, are the necessary and sufficient factors in the appearance of successively higher organized forms of life from the amoeba up to and including man.

The most obvious example is the Caledonian orogeny coinciding roughly with the Devonian period. Here the emergence of vast stretches of dry land can be correlated in some way with the emergence of land plants and of tetrapod amphibians evolving from lobe-fins. However, the epochs in geological history are subdivided according to their "leit-fossils," and not in accordance with movements of the earth's crust. The reason for this is to be found in the fact that the crucial transitions in the living world such as the invention of the amniote egg or of different kinds of flying devices and optic systems, the rise of the mammal-like reptiles (Therapsida) and the placentals, do not coincide, in a regular way, with major geophysical cata-

(13) C. Wallace and N. Fairall, "Chromosome Analysis in the Kruger National Park: Preliminary Results in the Bovidae," *South African Journal of Medical Science*, Vol. 33, 1968, pp. 119-123; "Chromosome Polymorphism in the Impala," *South African Journal of Science*, Vol. 63, 1967, pp. 482-486.

(14) C. D. Darlington, *op. cit.*

(15) E. Mayr, *op. cit.*

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clysms. (16)

Two-Way Relationship Between Genes and Environment

Organic systems, though subject to the mechanical laws of entropy-driven processes, in effect seem to exploit these laws to their own best advantage. They employ coincidental favourable turns in the outer world such that the organism-environment relationship is not only a matter of demand and hardship but of opportunity, and this is the more so the higher up we climb on the evolutionary tree. In the light of storage capacity of the genome it has justly been said that "it is not the environment which changes the genes, but the very opposite: it is the genes which change the environment." (17)

Turning now to hominid evolution we again find no systematic coincidences between the main steps on the road to *Homo sapiens* and the cyclic glaciations, the dominant feature of the Pleistocene epoch. (18) The emphasis here lies on the food gathering pattern and social organisation of our ancestors. It is now agreed that there were small-sized, cohesive and endogamous isolates or "breeding circles" (19) undergoing from time to time genetic revolutions of the type described, that is, episodes of exceptionally rapid evolution coincident with sudden extension or contraction of the geographic area inhabited (20) as well as periods of drastic reduction in numbers, both in relation to environmental opportunities and exigencies. This means that genetic isolation was as important as geographic (ecological) isolation. (21) In the light of universal acceleration, a Nature's law of organic growth, (22) humanisation can be viewed as a repetitive event (23) taking place more than once

(16) O. H. Schindewolf, *Der Zeitfaktor in Geologie und Palaeontologie*, E. Schweizerbartsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Stuutgart, 1950.

(17) C. D. Darlington, *op. cit.*

(18) K. W. Butzer, *Environment and Archeology*, Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago, 1964; C. S. Chard, *Man in Prehistory*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1969.

(19) L. S. B. Leakey, *The Progress and Evolution of Man in Africa*, Oxford University Press, 1961.

(20) S. Ohno, *Evolution by Gene Duplication*, Springer, Berlin, 1970.

(21) C. D. Darlington, *op. cit.*

(22) L. S. B. Leakey, *op. cit.*

(23) P. V. Tobias, *The Brain in Hominid Evolution*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1971.

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and at different places, that is, under various ecological conditions. I wish to illustrate this briefly by referring to the transition from the man of Broken Hill (*Homo rhodesiensis*) to the Neanderthal and recent man. The transition can be reconstructed, to some extent, from the endocranial casts of their respective brain cases. (24) The crucial feature here consists in the completion of a morphokinetic process. (25) In the hominid brain that is both phylogenetic and ontogenetic in character and goes hand in hand with increasing rates of cephalic indices reaching a peak in the Neanderthal brain (1560 c.c.); this exceeds both Rhodesian Man (1280 c.c.) and recent man (1350 c.c.). (26) The Neanderthal peak represents an instance of "overshooting the mark aimed at" so well exemplified by the antlers of the extinct Irish deer and the tusks of the late mammoth. This effect is not explicable by any mechanistic theory of evolution. (27)

The morphokinetic process just mentioned is the principal feature of hominid sapientization which took place between 50,000 and 200,000 years B.P. It is characterized, in essence, by a rotating movement of the brain cortex around the Sylvian (or lateral) fissure of the brain as pivot. (28) If it is complete a small portion of the convolutions becomes dislodged into the depth, together with the most ancient grey matter of the mammalian brain: both lose the contact with the inner surface of the skull and become invisible from outside. This is the case in the European (classical) Neanderthal and in the adult human brain. If incomplete, the Sylvian fossa remains open to a varying degree so that its floor is exposed to the eye. This is the case in the lower mammals, such as the hedgehog, as well as in the human fetus between the fifth and seventh months of fetal life. It is also incomplete in the endocast of the skull from Broken Hill. (29) This does not mean that ontogeny is a short

(24) F. J. Irsigler, "Rhodesian Man and the Evolution of the Hominid Brain," THE MANKIND QUARTERLY' Vol. XVII, No. 2, October-December 1976, pp. 83-114.

(25) W. Kahle, *Die Entwicklung der menschlichen Grosshirn-hemisphere*, Springer, Berlin, 1969.

(26) P. V. Tobias, *op. cit.*

(27) J. B. S. Haldane, *The Causes of Evolution*, Longman, Green and Company, London, 1932, G. G. Simpson, *Tempo and Mode in Evolution, op. cit.*

(28) W. Kahle, *op. cit.*

(29) F. J. Irsigler, "Rhodesian Man and the Evolution of the Hominid Brain,"

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recapitulation of phylogeny as postulated by Ernst Haeckel in his "fundamental law of biogenetics." Either is a mirror image of the other, the mirror itself being part of the system. (30) Hence no causal or temporal priority is involved, and no mechanical force is assumed arising from the ecosystem to "drive" the process.

Conclusion

The gene-ecosystem relationship is not one of irreciprocity implying orientation of the genome in the direction of niche specificity to be the necessary and sufficient cause of evolution. "Selection" at the chromosome and molecular levels involves sequences of events not controlled by environment and yet not random. Inbreeding by preferential mating and gene flow, (31) that is, exchange of genetic information between adjacent conspecific populations of finite size – the rate of evolution being inversely related to population size (32) – allows for transmission over generations of genetic messages not exposed to environmental scrutiny. This kind of selection is a function of the lineal descent from a common parental stock and enables the evolving group to take advantage of opportunities offered to the organic system by the ecosystem at the right time and place.

op. cit.; G. Elliot Smith, "Endocranial Cast Obtained from the Rhodesian Skull," in W. P. Pycraft (editor), *Rhodesian Man and Associated Remains*, British Museum (Natural History), 1928, pp. 52-58.

(30) F. J. Irsigler, "On a Priori Genetic Information," THE MANKIND QUARTERLY, Vol. XVI, No. 3, January-March 1976, pp. 219-226.

(31) E. Mayr, *op. cit.*

(32) S. Ohno, *op. cit.*

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ARE THERE ANY SHONA?
A QUESTION LEFT UNANSWERED BY HISTORIANS

CYRIL A. HROMNIK

No – there are no longer any Shona – could be the simplest and historically more correct answer to the question posed in the title of this article. The fuller answer to this question is so complicated that it could hardly be considered as a subject for a short paper like this. All that is attempted here is to define the problem, register previous unsuccessful attempts to solve it, point at certain misconceptions which are at the root of such failures, and to indicate some clues and some venues that may lead to our better understanding of the history of *sona* – the original form of our modern Shona and its variants – and thereby of the people to whom this name applied.

The quasi-synonyms Sonabar, Mokaranga/Butua, Kingdom of Monomorapa, Maa de Ouro, Minas Geraes de Mocaranga, Meshonaland, Rhodesia, and Zimbabwe Rhodesia designate a part of Africa the history of which has undergone more interpretation and reinterpretation in the last seventy-nine years than, perhaps, any other part of the world. The people who inhabit this land are known today as Shona and consist of many linguistically more or less closely related tribes none of whom, curiously enough, claim this name as theirs. Nor do they know why they are so called. (1) The country of the Shona happens to be endowed with many features which are unusual for this part of Africa and which offer to historians, archaeologists, linguists, theologians, architects, and anthropologists an exceptionally fertile field for historical hypothesis, theories, fantasies, and speculations, as well as for solid historical research. In view of the numerous versions of Shona history and prehistory, produced primarily by historians and archaeologists, a Zimbabwe Rhodesian historian was forced to conclude in 1973 that the Shona states possess "a historiography but no history." (2)

(1) F. C. Selous, *Travel and Adventure in South-East Africa* (London, 1893), p. 327; G. W. H. Knight-Bruce, *Memories of Mashonaland* (London, 1895), p. 16.

(2) D. N. Beach, "The Historiography of the People of Zimbabwe in the 1960s," *Rhodesian Hisotry*, 4 (1973), p. 23.

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To many historians and other writers the name Shona is practical and convenient for present use but otherwise devoid of historical significance. (3) Its absence would leave a void which cannot be filled at present, or so we have been told, because historians are waiting for the publishing revival of D. P. Abraham who holds the key to the name and its application. (4) The view of some writers that "Shona is a linguistic term only" or that the Shona are so called "because they speak one or other of the dialects of what the linguists call the Shona cluster of Bantu languages" sheds little light for an historian. (5) Other writers appear to feel that depriving Shona of historical content is to deprive the people it denominates of a history. (Italians in an analogous situation would find themselves excluded from Roman history.) Instead of seeking connections, however, these writers launch into eulogies on the past (6) or go out of their way to create a history for the "Shona" people. Alpers for instance, using unspecified archaeological findings and oral traditions, reconstructs in considerable detail the history of the Shona (Bantu) prior to 1500, that is during the period for which there are no written sources. When he reaches the sixteenth century, which abounds with written Portuguese, although their Asian, European, and American records are widely used by historians, the Portuguese are found to have been very poor writers and recorders of African history. (7) Shona history reaches its most absurd dimensions in the hands of Mutunhu, who follows in the footsteps of Alpers. Using secondary sources, none of which extend the history of the so called Shona state (Monomotapa) beyond 1450, and his own unfootnoted imagination, Mutunhu dates the beginnings of the Shona state to the early fourth century, further, he is able to tell us that it was the Mbira ruler who "surveyed throughout

(3) Summers and Pagden imply that the Shona are different from the Kalanga but do not define them. R. Summere & C. W. Pagden, *The Warriors* (Cape Town, 1970), pp. 23, 51, 62, 72; A. J. Wills, *Introduction to the History of Central Africa*, 2nd ed. (London, 1967), pp. 21-22; C. Bullock, *The Mashona and the Matabele* (Cape Town, 1950), p. 13.

(4) Beach, "The historiography . . .", p. 23.

(5) E. A. Alpers, "The Mutapa and Malawi Political Systems to the Time of the Ngoni Invasions," *Aspects of Central African History*, ed. by T. O. Ranger (Evanston, 1968), p. 4.

(6) T. O. Ranger, "The Nineteenth Century in Southern Rhodesia," *Aspects . . .*, p. 112-153.

(7) Alpers, "The Mutapa . . .," pp. 5-16.

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the state" and who (after accumulating six good reasons)" "made the important decision . . . to construct a state capital – *guta*" – at an optimal place seventeen miles south east of Fort Victoria. (8)

The main problem for Shona historiographers is how to match the reconstructed history of the difficult to define Shona with the architectonic mystery known as Zimbabwe Rhodesia. This is good soil for archaeologists, among whom we may include Randall-MacIver, although he was by no means a "professional archaeologist" of Africa as some would like to see him. Randall-MacIver began in 1905 (after a year of excavation and writing about the area) a school of thought which rejects any possibility that aliens and not the Bantu Shona may have been the unknown architects of the Zimbabwe culture. (9) One of the most recent proponents of this school is P. S. Garlake who first of all dismisses the later dating historical sources as "less complete than the archaeological evidence... [for] pre-literate and pre-historic societies" and also as "more open to bias and corruption." (10)

Garlake's Imaginative "History"

Garlake divides the "pre-history" of Zimbabwe into: *Period I.* Dated to A.D. 330 ± 150, (with possible correction when specialists finally match radiocarbon and calendar dates) characterized by "an Early Iron Age occupation." (11) *Period II.* Ending in A.D. 1075 ± 150, characterized by animal figurines and two or three centuries of architecture development of "huts constructed of poles and daga" identical with those built by the post-Zimbabwe periods characterized by building in stone: *Period III.* Dated A.D. 1075 ± 150 to A.D. 1440 ± 150, has no animal figurines. There are "first stone walls, built

(8) T. Mutunhu, "The Rise of the Mwenemutapa Empire from 450-1696: A Politico-Military History of Its Founding By the Mbire," *J. S. Afr. Affairs*, 2(2, p. 189.

(9) D. Randall-MacIver, *Mediaeval Rhodesia* (London, 1906); R. G. of Gayre, *The Origin of the Zimbabwian Civilisation* (Salisbury, 1972), pp. 101-106, 213; P. Curtin, et al, *African History* (Boston, 1978), p. 285.

(10) P. S. Garlake, "The Zimbabwe Ruins Re-examined," *Rhodesian History*, 1 (1970), p. 18.

(11) *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21; There are many historians and archaeologists who believe in an "absolute dating by radiocarbon" though historical comparisons provide sufficient reasons for scepticist on this point. P. Verin, "The African Element in Madagascar," *Azania*, 11 (1976), p. 147.

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of undressed stone laid in uneven, rudimentary courses; "nevertheless, dwellings now have "thick walls of solid daga." The end of the period saw "an increase in external trade." *Period IV.* Dated A.D. 1440 ± 150 to A.D. ca. 1400-1600, (Garlake like Alpers is unsure about the most recent period.) The style of pottery is different and the increased prosperity reflected in "the erection of a great number of massive walls, including almost all those of the Great Enclosure." The dressing of stone and the use of wall supports made of timber which had been seasoned for 500 to 1120 years (12) was among the improved building techniques. Contrary to what might be expected, meanwhile, the Zimbabweans ate from bowls and vessels made from wood or other temporary materials, none of which survived up to our times. Copper was used only for bracelets and bangles. (13)

The only reason Garlake suggests for the outburst of building in this last period is the developing external trade and resulting prosperity. Not that any foreign hand could have been behind the building. We are told that "it has been shown convincingly [by archaeologists] that building in stone *could* [my italics] have been invented and developed at Zimbabwe and not introduced from elsewhere." Beside this, Zimbabwe was built "on no recognized access or trade route, and the nearest ore deposits are some distance away and were not exploited in pre-historic times." (14)

The increased external trade was itself a purely Zimbabwean effort, according to Garlake. Despite the presence of Chinese celadons, Persian glazed earthenware, and Islamic glass, he asserts that "there had been no alien settlement on anything more than a minute scale at Zimbabwe." Despite "increasing outside contacts" the Zimbabweans in his opinion "do not appear to have become oriented toward trade or marketing for there is no indication that specialized skills in crafts or trade or standardized units of exchange were introduced." This is indeed surprising in view of the earlier statement that Zimbabwean prosperity depended on foreign trade. Garlake estimates that the volume of trade, nevertheless "could have

(12) Garlake, "The Zimbabwe Ruins . . .," pp. 20-21, 28.
(13) *Ibid.*, pp. 24-26.
(14) *Ibid.*, pp. 23 n20, 24.

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been considerable" — an interesting achievement without a trading class! Although increased trade coincided chronologically with commercial expansion and a rise in the prosperity of cities on the East African coast, no external influence reached Zimbabwe, because its own external trade "was diffused and filtered through multifarious local networks based on adjacent village and tribal contacts." (Perhaps all the way to Persia and China?) Nor does the large amount of archaeological finds present any problem since Garlake reduces them to a "single hoard of beads and imported ceramics and metalwork found in the Renders Ruins at Zimbabwe" and easily attributes all to "one coastal trader" who presumably dropped his wares straight into strata X and, without seeing any architecture to tell of, hurried back to the coast. (15) The architecture of Zimbabwe would, anyway, be of no interest to a trader since Zimbabwe, we are further told, was a purely religious structure and a shrine of Mwari and "seems to have been built primarily to manifest prestige and authority." Garlake is so convinced about this contrived conclusion that he repeats the same in his latest article with regard to Manekweni, in Mozambique. (16)

The only practical reason we are given for the existence of Zimbabwe is the desire "to distribute wealth and to channel trade goods from the rulers to the people" (an explanation which Marx would proudly acknowledge). Zimbabwe served as a residence for only a "very small number" of rulers who were "archaeologically unrelated" to "their supporting communities" and who indulged in "the specialized or a typical mode of life of the inhabitants of the stone buildings." (17) Although the "substantial" but "unrelated" population around Zimbabwe "depended on subsistence agriculture" it was "rendered unnaturally immobile by the very scale and permanence of the buildings that had been erected." Consequently, in spite of "political power . . . [having] been established over much of Rhodesia . . .

(15) *Ibid*., p. 22, 26; Garlake is obviously not bothered by Daton-Thompson's statement that the quantity of beads found at various Zimbabwe ruins was such that "it become really only a matter of patience in the siewing for them how many one got." G. Daton-Thompson, *The Zimbabwe Culture, Ruins and Reactions* (1931; New York, 1970), p. 187.

(16) Garlake, "The Zimbabwe Ruins . . .," p. 24; P. S. Garlake, "An Investigation of Manekweni, Mozambique," *Azania*, 11(1976), p. 43.

(17) Garlake, "The Zimbabwe Ruins," pp. 26, 24.

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the social structure proved incapable of adaptation to the demands of trade." (18) According to Garlake, the nearby resources, which had supported the builders and their rulers for four and a half centuries (the eleventh to the first half of the fifteenth century), became completely exhausted within a dozen years after Zimbabwe was finished, and the state which ruled "much of Rhodesia" abandoned the acropolis and moved to the inhospitable Dande area in the north where, even if without food, they would at least be close to the source of copper for their bangles. This, formerly, was imported from the Mbara or Ingombe people. (19)

Other historians have embraced another explanation for the abandonment of the Zimbabwe complex: they point to the sudden depletion of salt in the south, which prompted the Zimbabwe kingdom to move to the rich in salt though poor in food regions in the neighborhood of Ingombe Iled. (20) More 'critical' historians could not accept this illogical explanation and instead deduced from traditions that just as the reason for the erection of Zimbabwe lay in the need "to manifest prestige and authority," so too its decline can be attributed to the "imperial ambition" of Mutota, the last occupant of the Great Zimbabwe and the founder of the Monomotapa Empire, who abandoned the inimitable achievement of his ancestors because he could not be satisfied with any deed less magnificent. (21)

The epilogue to this sage is very brief. The present-day Bantu Shona are accepted as the direct descendants of the magnificent builders and destroyers. They were there from beginning to end, regardless of how they are named. (22) Further explanation beyond this point of no return can come only from our historiographers and archaeologists, and at this point it is perhaps better to turn our attention instead to more banal but more plausible history.

Origin of the Name "Shona"

So far, the only serious attempt to define Shona has been

(18) *Ibid.*, p. 26.
(19) *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 22, 27.
(20) D. M. Fagan, et al., *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia* (London, 1967-69), p. 139, cit. in Garlake, "The Zimbabwe Ruins . . .," p. 27.
(21) Alpers, "The Mutapa . . . ," pp. 9-10.
(22) *Ibid.*, p. 5.

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that of H. von Sicard. The present apparent disinterest in the subject may be blamed partly on the ideological and political exigencies of the time and partly on the thorough but inconclusive *Report on the Unification of the Shona Dialects*, published by C. M. Doke in 1931. Doke convincingly demonstrated that "the dialects of Zezuru, Karanga, Korekore, Manyika, and Ndau belong to one language." In the absence of a better name, he proposed to call this language Shona. Its speakers, consequently, became the Shona. Doke openly admitted that "it has been widely felt that the name 'Shona' is inaccurate and unworthy, that it is not the true name of any of the peoples whom we propose to group under the term 'Shona-speaking people,' and further that it lies under a strong suspicion of being a name given in contempt by the enemies of the tribes. It is pretty certainly a foreign name and as such is very likely to be uncomplimentary . . . but in point of etymology is extremely uncertain and no one can dogmatize about it." (23)

Doke was aware of several proposed etymologies of the word Shona and appears to have inclined toward the one which was most widely accepted among the British writers and which can be summed up as a Matabele etymology. It is an integral part of a broader school the proponents of which see the whole history of South Central Africa through a Matabele filter if not through Ndebele eyes. This should not be surprising, since the British crossed the Limpopo from the south in the footsteps of Mzilikazi's warriors and most nineteenth century writers were more familiar with the Ndebele than with any other people in the area. According to this school, as summed up by a non-adherent, Marconnes, "the name Shona, Shuna, Svina [swina] were given by the Tebeles to all the tribes in present Mashonaland which they could not incorporate into their own regiment." (24) The meaning of Shona varies with the derivations of each author, the most common being "slaves" or quasi-slaves. This meaning is given by Reclus, who writes that both the "Makalakas" and "Mashonas" were "by the Matabele regarded and

(23) C. M. Doke, *Report on the Unification of the Shona Dialects* (Hartford, 1931), pp. 77-78.

(24) F. Marconnes, "The Karangas," Rhodesia.*Native Affairs Department Annual*, 10(1932), p. 14 n.

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spoken of as Masholes – that is, 'slaves'." (25) Reclus clearly attempts here to reconcile Mashona, which he knew as part of the geographical name Mashonaland, with *hole* (*holi*) meaning the servile class of the Ndebele or slaves. Most writers equate Shona with *holi* and *holi* with slaves, although it was pointed out by Stabb in 1875 that *holi* formed the lowest caste of the Ndebele, but were not slaves. In addition, Lye cites J. T. Arbousset and F. Daumas as saying that the Sotho Pedi captured by Mzilikazi in 1827 "were [also] called *Hole* by the Ndebele." (26)

The common equation of Shona with slave seems to reflect the familiarity of the British traveler-writers with the Ndebele's "love of slave-holding" and their "motto," as T. M. Thomas puts it, "not to do anything by themselves which may be done by others." Thomas adds an interesting note to the subject when he translates "Amaholi" as "leaders" although he knew them to have been slaves. (27)

Other Explanations of "Shona"

A very frequent and more suggestive though not well grounded, is the derivation of Shona from Swina (svina). Thomas appears to be the first to have written about the "Amaswina." In the course of his travels 200 miles north west of Inyati in 1859 and 1867, he visited a small village of the Swina, whom the Ndebele called Amaswina. Although the name applied only to one small tribe who lived "near a deserted stone fort of the Machonas" (on evidence of E. Mohr) and were headed by a chief named Sisiwina. Thomas indirectly made it synonymous with the Mashona of white gold prospectors. The latter, however, applied the name Mashona to the people

(25) E. Reclus, *The Earth and its Inhabitants. Africa.* Vol. 4, *South and East Africa* (New York, 1889), p. 267.

(26) T. Baines, *The Northern Goldfields: Diaries of Thomas Baines*, ed. by J. P. R. Wallis (London, 1946), v. I, p. 191; E. C. Tabler, *The Far Interior; Chronicles of Pioneering in the Matabele and Mashona Countries, 1847-1879* (Cape Town, 1955), p. 105; H. S. Stabb, *To the Victoria Falls via Matabeleland; the diary of major Henry Stabb* (Cape Town, 1967), p. 258 n 104; W. F. Lye, "The Ndebele Kingdom South of the Limpopo River," *J. Afr. Hist.* 10 (1, 1969), p. 90.

(27) T. M. Thomas, *Eleven Years in Central South Africa*, 2nd ed. (London, 1971), pp. 154, 411.

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in the gold-bearing region further north-east and east. (28)

The name Swina, a clan name of neutral content which was not really applicable to anyone outside the one small village, was quietly suffered or openly disliked by the tribes to which it was applied. Writers and interpreters who observed this dislike automatically concluded that its content must be in some way offensive or derogatory and came up with several explanations. Most, though not all, blame the offensiveness on the Ndebele, it being said that these proud warriors "generally . . . look upon the Mashonas as dogs." (29) To Carl Peters, who approached the country from Portuguese Mozambique in 1900, the term "Masuna" or Swina resounded like the German "schwein" or Portuguese "suino." He translated it as "pigs, a term of abuse bestowed on them by the conquering race," but otherwise thought that the "Masuna" were "genuine Makalangas." (30) Hall and Neal combined the two epithets, *m'holi* = slaves and *amaswina* = dogs, and branded the "timid, cowardly, and servile" Mashonas as "dogs of slaves." (31) F. W. T. Posselt, relying heavily on Bishop Knight-Bruce who tentatively translated Mashona as "tripe cleaners," placed on the same level the names Mashona, Maswina, and Makaranga. Concluding that Maswina was the least complimentary, he speculated that it "may have been derived from 'Tswina' (dirt), or from 'swinura' to wring (from the habit of the Natives to wring the entrails of an animal killed for consumption)." In view of all these associations, it is not surprising that no tribe or clan was willing to call itself Shona or Swina. Nevertheless, missionaries pegged it on to the Manyika and translated the *New Testament* into what supposedly was their language, chiSwina. The selection of this tribe was not completely inappropriate because the Maniyka, although the missionaries were unaware of this, play

(28) *Ibid.*, pp. 360-61; E. Mohr, *To the Victoria Falls of the Zambesi* (1876; Bulawayo, 1973), p. 380; Report of C. J. Nelson, ca. 1869, in Thomas, *Eleven Years . .*, pp. 400-403.

(29) A. A. Anderson, *Twenty-five Years in a Waggon in the Gold Regions of Africa*, 3rd ed. (1888; Cape Town, 1974), p. 351.

(30) C. Peters, *The Eldorado of the Ancients* (London, 1902), p. 188.

(31) R. N. Hall & W. E. Neal, *The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia (Monomotapae Imperium)* (London, 1904), p. 123.

(32) Knight-Bruce, *Memories of Mashonaland . . .*, pp. 16-17; F. W. T. Posselt, *Fact and Fiction; A Short Account of the Natives of Southern Rhodesia* (Bulawayo, 1935), p. 12.

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a special role in Shona history. (33)

Other etymologies, such as that described by O. R. Oliveira, are less limited and more probable than those of the Matabele derogatory school. Oliveira states, without reference to any specific source, that the Karangua "were called *Chonas* by Europeans prior to the nineteenth century." (34) With certain reservations this view appears plausible, although an extensive survey of the available documents does not, with one exception, show the word so used in any Portuguese, French, or English source prior to 1835. According to H. von Sicard, who cites Barreto de Rezende, "it can be definitely stated that the name Mashora is not new as some people seem to be inclined to believe." Von Sicard's view is credible in view of other findings, but he himself is making only a valid guess and the example he chooses of a "Kaffir king named 'Matshone' whose kingdom Bare was situated in the vicinity of Sena" (35) is erroneous. Von Sicard, unfortunately, is relying here on Theal's imprecise translation of Rezende's incomplete *O Livro do Estado da India*, the final copy of which was augmented, edited, and sent to Spain in 1635 by Antonio Bocaaro. Theal's Matshone is Machone in Rezende's work and Macone in Bocarro's *Livro* and in his *Decada 13*. The real Macone of Baro (Bare) was none other than the Makoni of Barue. (36)

Von Sicard's assertion rightly or wrongly was preempted in 1905 by Taberer, who stated that Mashona "is a word of recent origin" and that, as a matter of fact, "Mashona itself is not fifteen years old and is a corruption of the pure Zulu 'aba tshona', those who go under (i.e. take refuge in caves)." (37) Taberer's etymology has some merit, but his dating is wrong since the word Mashona can be read in several books prior to 1890. According to F. Marconnes, Shona and its cariants was used by the Ndebele but "is probably derived from the name of the

(33) C. M. Doke, *The Southern Bantu Languages* (1954; London, 1967), p. 205.

(34) O. R. de Oliveira, "Zimbaues de Mozambique (Proto-historia Africana)," *Monumenta*, 9(9, 1973), p. 54.

(35) H. von Sicard, "The Derivation of the Name Mashona," *African Studies*, 9 (1950), p. 138.

(36) P. B. de Rezende, *Livro do Estado da India*, extracts in G. M. Theal, (ed.), *Records of South East Africa* (Cape Town, 1898), v. II, pp. 387 Port., 411 Eng.; A. Bocarro, "Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoacoes do Estado da India Oriental . . .," *Arquivo Portuquas Oriental* (1937), v. IV-II-I, p. 21.

(37) W. S. Taberer, "Mashonaland Natives," *J. Royal Afr. Soc.*, 15(1905), p. 330.

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great Zambezi emporium Sena (Syuna) with whose traders they were constantly dealing." (38) In connecting Shona with Sena, Marconnes is touching a live wire, but he does not explain why the Ndebele did not apply the same name to other tribes (Tonga, Kalanga, Barotse, Sena) who maintained commercial relations with Sena. Marconnes differs from the earlier mentioned travelers and writers in that he did not fall into the emotional tangle of the superiority-inferiority relationship between the Ndebele and the so-called Shona. Even so, he must be classed together with the others as merely an interpreter of the word *Shona* rather than a historian or witness of the Shona.

At this point it is worth noting that two of the most prominent missionaries of Southern Africa, Robert Moffat and David Livingstone, are conspiciously absent from the ranks of *Shona* interpreters. And, there is one further note to be added to the above discussion of the interpretations of the word *Shona* if H. von Sicard is correct in reading as Mashoona Campbell's reference in his *Travels in South Africa* to a tribe of Mooshuyanes in 1813, then the whole theory of the Matabele origin of Shona is blown up since the word would thus have preceded the existence of the Matabele as a separate ethnic group. (39)

All the above authors tried to explain the meaning of the name Shona and why the Shona are so called. In doing so they implied that it was clear who the Shona were, i.e., the Bantu people of various tribes who "although sharing a common basic language and culture had no single term to describe themselves." (40) These peoples were obviously done a great favor by language-corrupting Englishmen who provided them with an uncomplimentary but unifying name. But do we really know who the Shona are? F. C. Selous, a hunter and one of the men most knowledgeable about the so called Mashonaland in the second half of the nineteenth century, applied the term Shona ("Mashuna") to the people inhabiting "Mashunaland," but he was quick to add: "The native inhabitants of this part of Africa belong to many clans . . . Each sept has its own tribal name, and tribal marks, and the territory of each is fairly well

(38) Marconnes, "The Karangas," p. 14.
(39) Sicard, "The Derivation . . .," p. 138.
(40) Beach, "The Historiography . . .", p. 21.

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defined . . . I have never, however, met with any clan whose members called themselves Mashunas; and the name is altogether unknown amongst the natives of this part of Africa, except to a few who have learnt the word from Europeans."(41) Knight-Bruce, after serving as Bishop of Matabeleland for forty-four years, came to a similar conclusion. "Who are the Mashona?" he asked. "I have never found anyone who knew . . . The people we call Mashona did not know themselves by that name." (42) Theal suggests that the Mashona were recent immigrants "from some locality west of Lake Tanganyika," and Hall and Taberer could not extract more from the local inhabitants in the early 1900s than that their ancestors "came down from the north about two centuries ago," i.e. ca. 1700. The last two authors suggest that the immigrants should be called "Baroswi or Barotsi." (43)

Von Sicard's "History"

The best history of the Shona (not necessarily the pure Bantu Shona) is H. von Sicard's brief but very interesting analysis. Von Sicard's findings, unfortunately, have largely been ignored by the school of Shona historiographers. The crux of von Sicard's theory is his acceptance of Marconne's hypothesis identifying the Sena people withe the historical Shona. He then draws a connecting line with the Lamba. By way of defining the Sena, von Sicard says that they are people who resulted from the mixture of the Arabs, Indians, Persians, and possibly even Chinese, with the Bantu. Thus, "the name Shona was originally identical with Syuna-sena and designated the Oriental traders on the Zambesi and their half-caste light-skinned ('white') descendants. Later on, probably in the 15th century, they made friends with the Hamitic Mbire, the founders of the Monomotapa Kingdom." (44) While it is possible to agree with von Sicard's equation of the Shona with "the Oriental traders," his further deductions need careful examination. Von Sicard himself is unable to link directly the present-day Bantu people

(41) Selous, *Travel and Adventure . . .*, p. 327.
(42) Knight-Bruce, *Memories of Mashanoland . . .*, p. 16.
(43) G. M. Theal, *The Yellow and Dark-Skinned People of Africa South of the Zambesi* (1910; New York, 1969), p. 158.
(44) Sicard, "The Derivation . . .," p. 141.

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of Rhodesia who are named Shona with his historical or present Sena except by linking the Sena with the Lamba (despite his awareness that "there is no instance on record of Mposi's Lamba in Belingwe having been called Shona") and tenuously identifying the Lamba with the present-day Karanga, i.e. the Shona. (45) Thus, even von Sicard leaves the origin of the Shona in suspension. In this position, the Shona are not alone. The area in question abounds with names which are hard to pin down on actual people. Who are the Nyai, Makalaka, Rozwi, Makoas, Macquini, Waklimi, and the Slamzyn? Many historians use these names without trying to define them.

One thing is obvious: the modern word *Shona* came quite recently from the south to present-day Mashonaland and its appearance there coincides with the advance of the British to Rhodesia. Mauch, one of the earliest visitors from the south, did not find any Shona north of the Limpopo in 1869, the whole country being dominated by the "Bunyais" (Banyai or Nyai) or "Makaranka" i.e., Makalaka. His informant, a missionary named Merensky, referred to the whole "mysterious North" as Banyai. (46) At the same time and even much earlier, hunters, travelers, and traders living south of the Limpopo River spoke about Mashonaland and its people, the Mashona, but no one was able to pin the name to any tribe. Livingstone learned in 1842 that the Mashona were one of the five tribes of the Makalaka. (47) W. C. Oswell, in 1844, distinguished "Mashuna" from the Makalaka, but he was later tempted to consider them as one people. In this he was obviously influenced by the Bamangwato, who called all non-Tswana tribes to the east and north Makalaka. (48) Then, in 1891, J. T. Bent traveled to and excavated in so called Mashonaland and made this observation: "All the people and tribes around Great

(45) *Ibid.*, pp. 140-41.

(46) C. Mauch, *The Journals of Carl Mauch; His Travels in the Transvaal and Rhodesia, 1869-1872*, transcr. from the German orig. by E. Bernhard & transl. by F. O. Bernhard, ed. by E. E. Burke (Salisbury, 1969), pp. 138-39, 264.

(47) D. Livingstone, *Livingstone's Missionary Correspondence, 1841-1856*. ed. by I. Schapera (London, 1961), p. 17.

(48) "Notice of an Expedition into the interior of Southern Africa by Mr. Oswell and Captain Vardon, with a sketch of the course of the Limpopo, and a Figure of a supposed new species of Rhinoceros," *Madres J. Lit. & Sc.*, 14(1847), p. 182; W. C. Oswell to F. Vardon, 10 Jan. 1850, in W. S. Oswell, *William Cotton Oswell, Hunter and Explorer* (London, 1900), v. I, p. 204.

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Zimbabwe, with whom we were intimately acquainted during our sojourn of several months amongst them; all the people down toward the Sabi, and north to Forth Charter . . . call themselves by one name, though they are divided into many tribes, and that name is Makalanga." Speaking before the Royal Geographical Society, Bent, on this basis, entered "a geographical protest against the name Mashonaland and Mashonas for the inhabitants." Bent's protest was soon forgotten, for reasons which are discussed in my forthcoming book on this subject.(49)

All these reports share one fact: their writers were all told by the southern tribes that the Makalaka and especially the Mashona were more industrious than the other tribes. Both peoples were said to be better agriculturists and to be able to smelt iron and copper, which they sold together with other articles to the tribes in the south. (50) The Mashona were the only tribe who fought "with guns instead of the assagai" and "are always spoken of by other tribes as superior to them both in the arts of peace and war." (51) Another thing characterizes the early reports on the Mashona, especially that of Livingstone: the meaning of the word *Shona* is never scrutinized nor is the identity of the people whom it was supposed to designate. Livingstone used the term as if it was so clear as to need no explanation and he never tried to give an etymology for it as he did for most important Bantu words.

Livingstone's Attitude Towards "Mashonaland"

Even more peculiar is Livingstone's attitude toward the so called Mashona and Mashonaland. Although he found the people "interesting," he never attempted to visit their country and, in fact, consciously avoided it. This behaviour inevitably arouses speculation. It is difficult to include Livingstone among those who thought this "unknown interior" to be "fever-stricken and uncolonisable" (52) since he was reasonably well

(49) J. T. Pent, "The Ruins of Mashonaland, and Explorations in the Country," *Proc. Royal Geogr. Soc.*, n.s. 14(1892), p. 290.

(50) W. C. Oswell to F. Vardon, 10 Jan. 1850 . . . v. I, p. 204; J. MacKenzie, *Ten Years North of the Orange River; a story of everyday life and work among the South African Tribes from 1859-1869*, 2nd ed. (187; London, 1971), p. 502.

(51) Livingstone, *Missionary Correspondence* . . ., p. 17; Livingstone cit. in Oswell, *William Cotton Oswell* . . ., v. I, p. 237.

(52) E. A. Mound, "On Metabele and Mashona Lands," *Proc. Royal Geogr. Soc.*, n.s. 13(1891), p. 2.

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acquainted with the Portuguese sources, which he did not hesitate on accasion to assimilate into his own writing. Possibly, Livingstone knew more about the "Mashona" than he wished to put on paper. Perhaps, the "Mashona" as well as the Goans/Canarins and Portuguese had long been familiar with the heart of Africa, discovery of which Livingstone claimed to his credit, and by going to Mashonaland, Livingstone might have had to admit his indebtness on most of his travels to paths carved by non-Bantu before his time. Denials of Portuguese antecedence and ignorance of the role of the Indians in Southern Africa are not uncharacteristic of Livingstone's writing. (53) Some clarification if his familiarity with an obvious disinterest in the Shona could have come out of Oswell's notes, had these not been destroyed to avoid undermining Livingstone's claims of discovery and desire for recognition by the Royal Geographical Society. (54)

Travelers who came after Livingstone credited the Shona with the production of all implements which somehow stood above general Bantu standards and, above all, connected them with the ruins of stone walls as far south as the Orange River and with the gold mines. This they did on account of the low level of industrial skills of the Bantu living in the vicinity of these remnants of high endeavor. (55) To the general surprise, when Mashonaland was eventually reached by the British in the second half of the nineteenth century, its inhabitants – the so-called Mashona – were found to have degenerated pitifully and, although more industrious than others, were incapable of the feats expected of them by the Europeans. (56) "These walls," wrote Mohr in 1869, "cannot fail to excite astonishment in a country where the largest buildings erected by the native consist of clay, grass, and branches." (57) Significantly, Bantu neighbors of the unidentifiable Bantu Mashona never (with the exception of some adulturated oral tradition collected in the twentieth century) credited the latter with

(53) *Livingstone's Private Journals, 1851-1853*, ed. by I. Schapera (London, 1960), p. 176; D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (New York, 1858), pp. 623-27.

(54) Oswell, *William Cotton Oswell . . .*, v. II, p. 9.

(55) MacKenzie, *Ten Years North of the Orange River . . .*, p. 485.

(56) Stebb, *To the Victoria Falls . . .*, pp. 58-59.

(57) Mohr, *To the Victoria Falls . . .*, p. 153.

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construction of the stone buildings or walls or with the deep stope gold mining. The same is true of the so called Rozwi, Nyai, Karanga, Mbira, and other tribes presently called Shona, all of whom credited these feats to the *Makoas* or to the *bazungu* (misleadingly translated by European writers as "white men") (58) or considered them a part of nature like the rocks or rivers. (59)

Zimbabwe, Mining Crafts and Agricultural Terraces

Almost every European visitor who was willing to credit Zimbabwe and other ruins to the hut-building Bantu Shona of the time agreed regretfully that they had gradually deteriorated, as Salous put it, "from a people who were capable of building walls that will compare with any part of the great Zimbabwe to the very inferior hut-building Shona"of his time. (60) The reasons for the deterioration remain unexplained. That the Bantu Shona were responsible for the idea of the execution as well as for the construction of the great Zimbabwe is fully accepted by Alpers and other writers, although Alpers himself admits that Shona is just an ill-defined linguistic term. As for the destruction, a simple answer is provided by Summers and Pagden and their followers: it was the work of the Angoni, who ca. 1836 destroyed the Rozwi forts "and converted them into the 'ancient ruins' they are today."(61) The absence of appropriate tools among the Bantu Shona for the construction or of adequate tools among the Angoni for bringing down the huge walls is not of concern to either set of historians. And the fact that the local Karanga or Makalaka people disassociate the Rozwi-Shona from the ruin, not to speak of the construction, while Mzilikazi denied any association with the destruction and absolved the Zwangendaba's Angoni from the same by stating that "the ruined towns . . . were the remains of the former ages" is obviously beside the

(58) Mauch, *The Journals . . .*, pp. 235, 267-68; Anderson, *Twenty-five Years in a Wagoon . . .*, (1877; London, 1888), pp. 384-85.

(59) MacKenzie, *Ten Years North of the Orange River . . .*, pp. 485-86.

(60) Selous, *Travel and Adventure . . .*, p. 339.

(61) Alpers, "The Mutape . . .," pp. 4-5; Summers & Pagden, *The Warriors . . .* p. 73.

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point to the Bantu-Shona proponents. (62) In view of this, it appears that Bent was much closer to the truth when he pointed out that "the present inhabitants of the country [meaning the Bantu] do not use stone in any of their constructions, and never trouble themselves to remove stones from any existing walls, so that more stones have probably been disturbed during the two years of British occupation of the country than the Kaffirs would disturb in as many centuries." (63)

This clear vision of the reality of Mashonaland in the nineteenth century became almost totally obfuscated in the writings of the relatively recent Bantu school. Some authors accepted the idea of Bantu-Shona degeneration as a fact, obviously believing that no permanent damage had been suffered, and that there was a reasonable hope that the decadent Bantu-Shona would rise again to restore the ancient glory. These authors explain the puzzlement of the nineteenth century European observers who questioned the possibility of degeneration not by an analysis of the historical facts but by making these observers a product of the nineteenth century which supposedly was "far more optimistic about society than we are today." Mauch, Bent, Hall, etc., it is said "could appreciate the idea of nations disappearing but not of societies decaying . . . nobody ever gave even a passing thought to the possibility that 'the cowardly Mashona' could perhaps have erected this massive stone building" of Zimbabwe. Theories regarding the supposed degeneration of the Bantu are convenient but historically untrue, and Selous and his contemporaries as well as the modern writers of Bantu school reached their conclusions on the basis of purely speculative reasoning for which there is no support in the records of the preceeding four hundred years. (64)

(62) Mauch, *The Journals . . .*, pp. 226, 267-68; A. Merensky, in *Transvaal Arqus*, 20 Oct. 1866 quoted in *ibid.*, p. 264; R. Moffat, *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa* (1842; New York, 1969), p. 583; Posselt, *Fact and Fiction . . .*, p. 10.

(63) J. T. Bert, *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland, being a record of excavation and exploration in 1891*, 2nd ed. (1896; Bulawayo, 1969), pp. 177-78.

(64) R. Summers, "One hundred Years of Fact and Fantasy at Zimbabwe," *Proc. C. Afr. Hist. Assoc. Conference*, Sept. 1966, Local Ser. Pamphlet No. 19, p. 9.

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Portuguese Records

The idea that the deep mines, fine stone walls, and terraces were not the result of the activities of the present Bantu inhabitants of the area, whatever their name, was not first conceived of by nineteenth century European travelers. Portuguese records since 1500 are replete with statements to this effect. On the basis of personal observation, Moorish tradition, and information collected from the Kalanga (Karanga) and other peoples in the area, Portuguese and Goan/Canarin visitors to Mokaranga/Mashonaland almost without exception reported that the local Bantu population did not indulge in stone building or mining, unless it was in the service of one or another set of foreigners. Duarte Barbosa wrote in 1516 that the village of Zimbaoche (Zimbabwe?) consisted of "many houses of wood and straw." (65) Joao de Barros wrote in ca. 1549-50 that the ruins of "Simbaoe" (Zimbabwe?) belonged to antiquity and were, according to Karanga, meanwhile, were all made of wood. The stone complexes were thought locally to have been built and the gold mines opened by some ancient people of whom even the local *Baduij* (moors who were the descendants of the Emozaids and Indians) had no memory, that is sometime prior to the tenth century. (66) The people of Monomotapa "never knew how to place stone upon stone to build a house or wall," wrote Monclaro in 1569, well before the presumed nineteenth century degeneration of the Bantu Shona. Thirty years later, Joao dos Santos observed that "even the houses of the kings are of wood plastered with clay and covered with staw." (67) Antonio Bocarro and Antonio Gomes confirm the same in the seventeenth century, and a Goan official, I.C. Xavier, pointed out in 1758 that "Zimnoae is the same as court and as palaces and other houses which consist of rustic structures are made of wood, it can be easily moved from one place to another."

(65) D. Barbosa, *Livro Em que da relacao de que viu e ouviu no Orients Duarte Barbosa* (Lisbon, 1946), p. 19.

(66) J. da Barros, *Asia de Joam de Barros: dos Faitos que os Portugueses Fizeram no Descobrimento e Conquista dos Mares e Terras do Orients Primeira Decada*, 4ª ed. rev. e pref. por A. Baiao, conforme a ed. Princeps (Coimbra, 1932), p. 376.

(67) F. Monclaro, "Relacao da viagem q fizerao os Pes da Companhia de Jesus com Franco Barretto na conquista de Monomotapa no anno de 1569," *Poletim da Sociedada de Geographia de Lisboa*, 4(11,1883), p. 545; J. dos Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental* (Lisbon, 1891), v. I, p. 202.

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Portuguese sources leave no doubt that "the tradition of using wood as primary construction material among the [Bantu] Shona in general continues uninterrupted from the sixteenth to the twentieth century." (68)

Activities such as building in stone, sinking deep mines, building terraced fields, and using money, that were common to Asia, Europe, and Ethiopia perhaps since the time of Jaricho and Mohenjo Daro, were as alien to the values and cultures of the Bantu and Bushmen of southern Africa as inter-state highways and New York skyscrapers in more recent times to the Iroquois or the Apache. The attempt of many historians to make these activities part of the heritage of the Bantu Masl ona is in disregard of the intrinsic culture of Negroid Africa, which they try to make "respectable" by imposing on it the characteristics of European civilization. Since the first millenium B.C., activities such as stone building and mining had been the domain of immigrant communities from Asia who made their abode in eastern and southern Africa and were eventually absorbed by the late coming Bantu peoples. In the middle of the tenth century, the Arab geographer Ibn Haukal observed that the natives of Zingbar (East African coast) were "not much inclined to the cultivation of arts and sciences." (69)

The love of arts and sciences in most parts of the world eventually produced tangible results in the form of metals, mechanical devices, and technology for improving human productivity. Alongside any new development goes the growth of the related terminology. Thus, there was no word for aquaduct until the idea of an aquaduct was conceived, if not realized. The Negroid Bantu, however, failed to conform with this common pattern of development of the human race, a deviation in which although not alone they are special proponents of the old and accepted idea that there are several modes of human life and that variety rather than conformity is the norm. The

(68) I. C. Xavier, "Noticias dos Dominios Portugueses na Costa de Africa Oriental, Mocambique, 26 de Dez. 1758, " Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, *Fundo Geral* 826; For more comprehensive treatment of this subject see C. A. Hromnik, *Goa and Mozambique; The Participation of Goans in Portuguese Enterprise in the Rios de Cuama, 1501-1752* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Syracuse University, 1977), pp. 325-33.

(69) *The Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal, an Arabian Traveller of the* Tenth Century, extracts in Theal, *The Yellow and Dark-Skinned People . .*, pp. 137-38.

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Negroid Bantu did not develop either the metal producing technology or names for the basic metals they used. They commonly adopted the terms used by the importers of metals and metal objects or by local Caucasian producers. Even culturally as basic a metal as copper has no native name in Bantu languages. Names like *koporo* (N. & S. Sotho), *ikopolo* (Xhosa), *kopa* or *mukore* (Shona), *koporo* (Tsonga), are all relatively recent and derive from European languages. These were some centuries back preceeded by a set of Asiatic words. Guthrie lists no Proto-Bantu word for copper, silver, gold, and even a word for "metal" is absent. The common Bantu *tsimbi* and its variants for iron are taken for a Proto-Bantu term (*címbì*) by Guthrie but it should not be too difficult to disprove it.

Gold and gold ornaments are difficult to link with any Bantu tribe because, as observed by a seventeenth century Portuguese farmer and official in Zambezia, their *mambos* (chiefs) "neither treasured nor made jewelry out of it [gold] which God seems to have intended for this purpose." In bartering gold for such local products as cows, meat, cloth, corn, hoes, and *pombe* (a type of corn beer), and for imported glass beads and cloth, the Karanga and other Bantu clearly showed their total disinterest in a metal valued all around the world. Because of their lax attitude toward gold, in the words of the same observer, "the selling and buying were done without the constraints so common at the markets of the Orient and Europe." The Bantu did not even have a generic native name for gold. (70) Names that the Bantu use most frequently are of Indian, Semitic, and European origin. Here belong words like *mali* (originally found in many Bantu languages but now used mostly with its secondary meaning in an African and with its primary meaning in an Asiatic context), *dahabo* or *dhahabu* (in kiSwahili and other Bantu languages; from the Arabic ذهب), *gorodhi* (chiZezuru), *igolide* (Zulu), *dinyero* (chiManyika), etc. (71)

The extensive and varied historical and linguistic evidence collected by myself for my forthcoming book on Shona history indicates that the earliest word for gold used in eastern and

(70) A. Lobo de Silva to Vicerey da India, Zimbaoe, 22 June 1678, Arquivo Hitorico Ultramarino, *Mocambique* Caixa 2/143.

(71) I am grateful to Prof. D. T. Cole for allowing me to compare my findings with his list of Bantu terms for various metals (May 1979, Univ. of the Witwatersrand).

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south-central Africa was the originally Pali word *sona* found today in Hindi. Its variants (*shona, sona,* etc.) are found in other Dravidian and Sanskritic languages. The voluminous evidence cannot be even summed up in this paper. It will have to suffice here to say that gold mining between the Zambezi and Limpopo rivers was a fundamentally Indian enterprise and as such it appeared in the original unadulturated local tradition. (72) In the development of the mining industry, Indian prospecting methods as well as Indian mining technologies were applied. "Nothing but Indian metalwork appear in old mines," writes Summers. The weights and measures used in the resulting gold trade were Indian and gold itself was known as Indian gold. It should cause no surprise, thus, that the first and, in ancient times, most widely used word for gold was *sona.* (73)

The word *sona* has not been retained in any Bantu language (many have been examined) in its primary form and meaning. Secondary meanings are attributed to this word in its various forms in different languages, but we shall pass over them at this stage. The only form that interests us here is MaShona which presently designates the people living in the area of the ancient *sona* i.e. gold miners. The Bantu people so named originally rejected the name but it was nevertheless applied to their country by the British in the form of Mashonaland, this being an unintended translation of the ancient Indian name Sonabar or Gold Country. Thus not unlike the case of the Irish, the English, the Scots, the Germans, the Swedes, the Dutch, and other Europeans living in the New World who are all called Americans though without a claim to the pre-Columbian heritage, so the Karanga, Zezuru, Korekora, Manyika, and Ndau peoples living in Mashonaland are called MaShona though, again, almost without a substantial claim to the historical heritage of sonabar. The origin of the name Mashonaland was a puzzle even in the 1890s when Selous wrote that "to begin with, the Mashonaland is a coined word, and how it became

(72) R. Summers, *Ancient Mining in Rhodesia and Adjacent Areas* (Salisbury, 1969), p. 151; J. E. Mullan, *The Arab Builders of Zimbabwe* (Salisbury, 1969), p. 46; Mauch, *The Journals . . .*, pp. 234, 292; Hromnik, *Goa and Mozambique . . .*, pp. 174-85.

(73) Summers, *Ancient Mining . . .*, pp. 129-30; H. von Sicard, comment in *Current Anthropology*, 7(4, 1966), p. 476.

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current I have never been able to discover." (74) When questioned about the origin of the name *Shona*, the Ndebele chief Lobengula said that it "originated among the white men." (75) But the white men did not know anything about it. In reality Lobengula most probably did not say "the white men" but the "bazungu" or "Makoa", which to his egocentric listeners from Albion would translate as the "white men." In Lobengula's world the two words "bazungu" and "Makoa" meant Indian or *manamuzungu* (mestizo) traders and craftsmen or simply a master class of people. Ever since Livingstone, however, the predispositions of English observers and writers led them to translate *Makoa* as white and *bazungu* as Portuguese or white. In doing so they deprived themselves and most modern historians of an important clue to our better understanding of the early history of this part of Africa.

Lobengula was unable to explain the history of Mashonaland because, as is common with most ancient and modern conquerors, history began with his father and himself. Europeans, meanwhile, are still unable to see this history without the mediaeval glasses, and the Arab presence imprinted in their minds by eight centuries of preoccupation with the Muslim threat causes them to see the world's history in mediaeval or Muslim colors. Muslim geographers and historians are also of little help because they are deficient in information about Africa, especially Bantu Africa. The deficiency does not necessarily mean that they knew little about Bantu Africa. It means rather that in Bantu Africa they found little worth mentioning within the context of their own values. One Persian geographer in 982 A.D. even described the population of the country of gold as "people distant from the standards of humanity." (76) The Bantu peoples themselves had a similar attitude toward the values of Asian, European, and other alien cultures.

The word *sona* (*shona*) definitely belongs to and designates part of the reality of African history which was not created by the Negroid Bantu. It was woven into African history by the

(74) Selous, *Travel and Adventure . . .*, p. 327.

(75) W. A. Eliot, "The Ma-Shuna," in D. Carnegie, *Among the Matabele* (London, 1894), p. 189.

(76) *Hudud al-Alam. The Regions of the World; A Persian Geography 372 A.H. – 982 A.D.*, by anonym (London, 1973), p. 163.

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Asian predecessors of the Bantu and imposed upon them by the late coming British. The lengthy and involved history of the word *sona* requires more space than is possible here. The history of the later imposition of the name is available but has been so far overlooked. It rests on understanding of the divergence between the cosmology of Europeans and Negroid Bantu which has been neglected although both Senghor with his "negritude" and Nyerere with his African tradition, soul, and culture have called attention to this. The divergence is beautifully illustrated by the following episode recorded in 1870 by Rev. J. B. Thomson, a Scottish missionary: When Thomson met for the first time with Lobengula, the Ndebele chief, he asked for permission to teach the Gospel and to establish a mission station at Hope Fountain, three miles from Bulawayo. Lobengula listened and replied:

> "You say that he [God] made both black and white men and loves both equally, but only showed the one the means of salvation. If God meant the black man to be saved in the same way as the white man, he would have sent the same book to both and it seems to me that it is a great piece of presumption that you, a mere mortal, should come here to alter the working of the God, whom you call good and wise."

Saying this, Lobengula offered no opposition to Thomson's desire and allowed him to build a mission. (77) Lobengula's tolerant attitude toward outsiders was typical of the Bantu through the centuries. Their kindness toward foreigners was proverbial, their resistance to foreign acculturation unshakeable, and their capacity for absorption irresistable. (78)

Sona history is the story of gold and of Indian goldseekers and miners who vanished, together with most of their arts and crafts in the close embrace of the Negroid Bantu. The modern name Shona, meanwhile, is no more and no less than a cuckoo's egg in the nest of the people whom it designates today.

(77) J. B. Thomson, quoted by Stabb, *To the Victoria Falls . . .*, pp. 78-79.

(78) A. Gomes, "Viagem que fez o Padre Ant9 Gomes, da Comp^{a} de Jesus, ao Imperio de de [sic] Manomotapa; a assistencia que fez nas ditas terras d^{e} Alg'us annos." Notes by E. A. Axelson, *Studia*, 3(1959), p. 226.

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Summary

Shona is one of the many historical terms of Africa which are used and built upon by modern historians without an understanding of their meaning and history. The name Shona is at present applied to people who did not care for this appelation and did not know what was their claim to it. The original form of Shona is the Pali word for gold *sona*. As such *sona/shona* designates a metal for which there was no place either in the material culture nor in the languages of the Negroid Bantu people. Its history belongs to the Asian goldseekers and miners who dwelt in Sonabar/Mashonaland long before the arrival of the earliest Bantu. The Bantu absorbed the true MaSona i.e., the people of gold, but found no place for the ancient *sona* tradition in their own well integrated cosmology.

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THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF GERMANIC CRANIAL SERIES FROM THE MEROVINGIAN PERIOD ACCORDING TO THE APPROXIMATION METHOD OF ADAM WANKE

Dr. BRUNON MISZKIEWICZ
Translated from the German by Donald A. Swan

Introduction

In the year 1975 the doctoral dissertation of Dr. Friedrich W. Rösing was published by the University of Hamburg, Germany under the title: "The Frankish Population of Mannheim-Vogelstang (6th. – 7th. Centuries A.D.) and Merovingian Period Germanic Peoples of Europe." In this comprehensive work of 247 pages, a detailed anthropological analysis was conducted of the crania and skeletons of the Frankish series from Mannheim, Germany. The total number of subjects from whom anthropometric measurements were made amounted to 178 males and 180 females. These data were compared with anthropometric data obtained from 35 male and 34 female Germanic cranial series. The total number of subjects in all the cranial series, including Mannheim, was 2311 males and 1585 females.

Dr. Rösing begins his work with a short historical survey of the various Germanic tribes selected for his comparative study. These comprised nine different Germanic peoples: Anglo-Saxons, Saxons, Thuringians, Franks, Alemanni, Bavarians, Burgundians, Langobards, and Goths. The classification and relationships of the major Germanic tribes as proposed by K. Mullenhoff in his classic work *Deutsche Altertumskunde* (1898) are shown in Figure 1. The revision and modification of this classificatory scheme advanced by F. Maurer in his book *Nordgermanen und Alemannen* (1943) is presented in Figure 2.

The migrations of the Germanic peoples in the *Voelkerwanderung* Period of the early First Millennium A.D. are illustrated in Map 1. The distributions of the Germanic tribes in northwestern Europe and in central Europe at this time are shown in Maps 2, 3 and 4. Dr. Ernst Schwarz has also provided us with maps illustrating the settlements and migrations of the Germanic peoples up until the end of the 4th. Century A.D. and the advance of the Slavic peoples from the 6th. to 8th. Centuries

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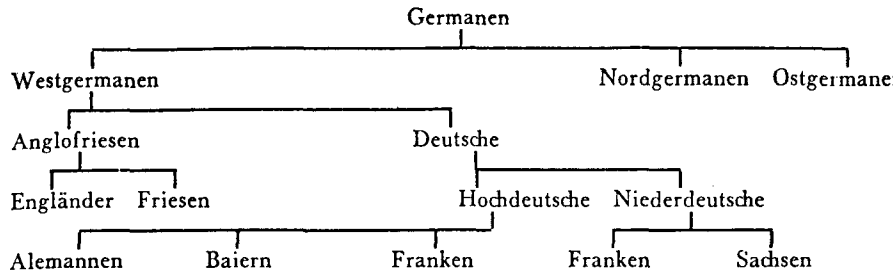

Figure 1 - The classifications and interrelation of the Germanic tribes (K. Muellenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 1898).

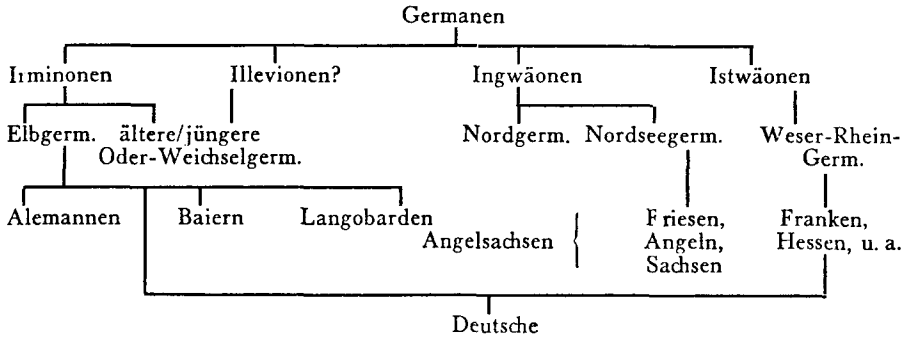

Figure 2 - The classification and interrelation of the Germanic tribes (F. Maurer, *Nordgermanen und Alemannen*, 1943).

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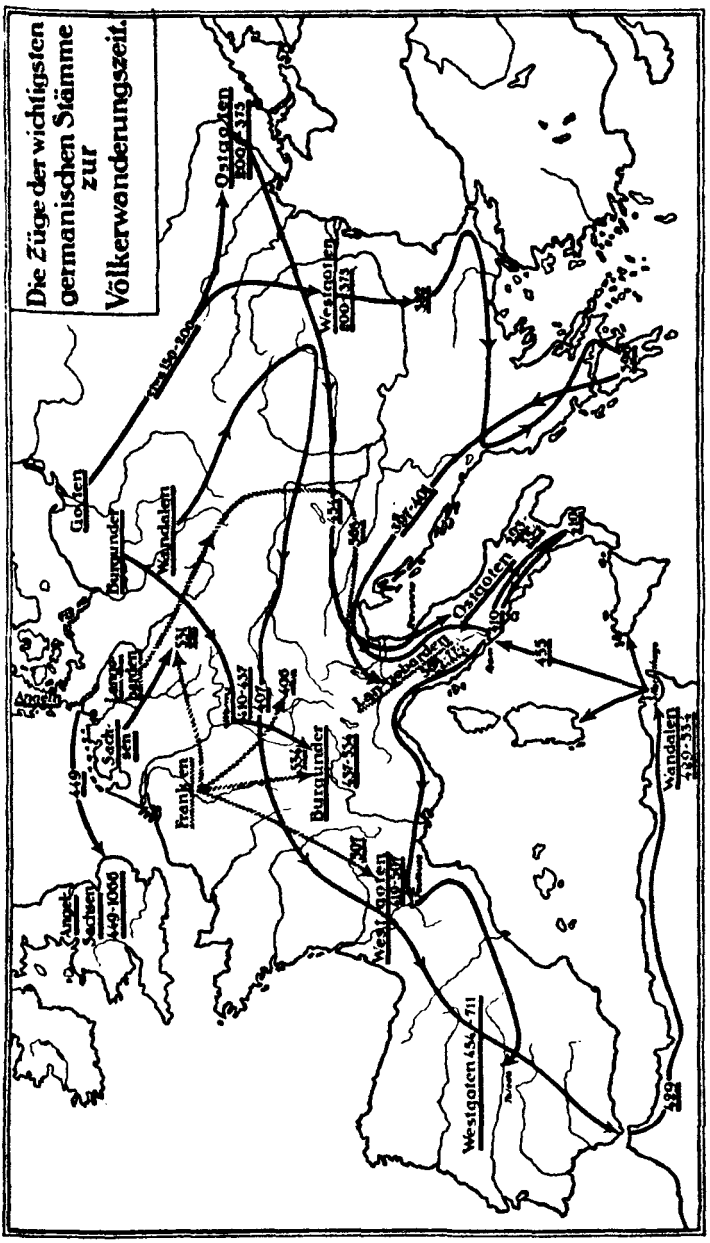

Map 1 - The migration routes of the most important Germanic tribes during the *Voelkerwanderung* Period (Friedrich Bohn, *Germanische Stammeskulturen der Voelkerwanderungzeit*, 1937).

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A.D. in the *Atlas zur Geschichte der deutschen Ostsiedlung*) (1958). These are reproduced in Maps 5 and 6.

The subsequent chapters of Dr. Rösing's dissertation are concerned with anthropological methodology, palaeo-demography, morphometry, and population comparisons. The latter comprises both univariate comparisons of single traits in different populations and multivariate comparisons employing Penrose distance statistics, et al. The author concludes the work with a summary and a detailed discussion of the results. Dendograms, an appendix of tables, and an extensive bibliography of some 275 references are also provided. This interesting and important work of Dr. Rösing makes possible a further, additional typological analysis of all the Germanic cranial series.

Method of the Anthropological Analysis

In the following analysis the anthropological-typological structure of the Germanic groups under consideration will be calculated according to the approximation method of Adam Wanke. The calculations have been made separately for the males (36 series in total) and for the females (35 series in total). Dr. Wanke's method is also known in the scientific literature as the reference point system.

In Dr. Wanke's system, the mean values of five anthropological indices are employed in the calculation of the typological structure of various European populations. These are: the breadth-length index of the skull, the upper-facial index (according to Kollman), the nasal index, the orbital index, and the height index (according to Hrdlička-Kočka). The latter index is calculated from the formula:

$$I = \frac{ba\text{-}b}{[(g - op) + (eu - eu)]\ /2} \times 100$$

(See Figures 5 and 6 for illustrations of the reference points ba, b, g, op, and eu).

The height index was likewise calculated from the arithmetic mean values of the measurements. This index permits a useful conceptual classification of racial types. Such classifications can be determined both from the individual data and also from

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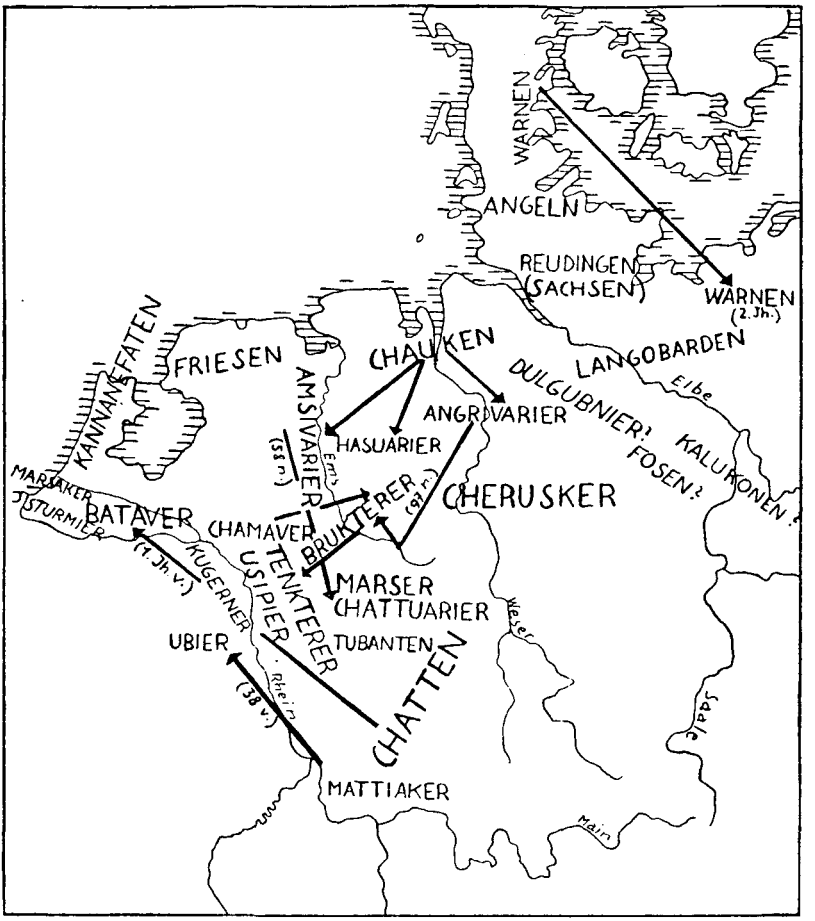

Map 2 - The geographical distribution of the Germanic tribes in north-western Europe in the First Century A.D. (Ernst Schwarz, *Germanische Stammeskunde*, 1956).

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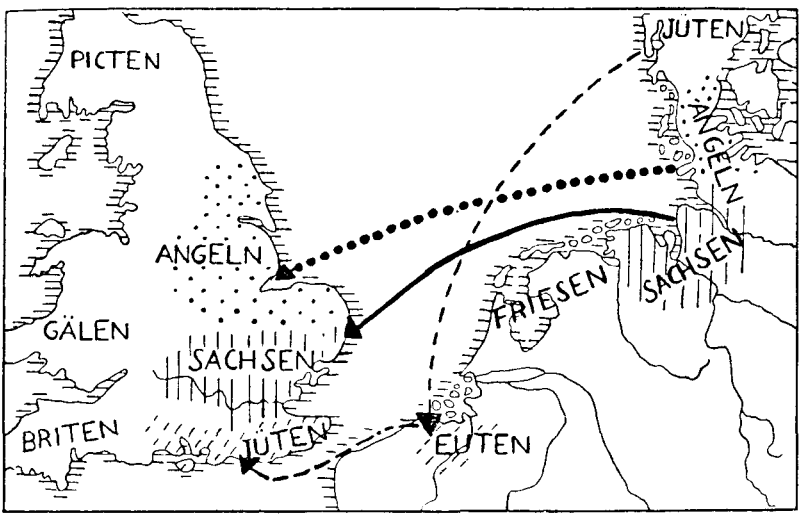
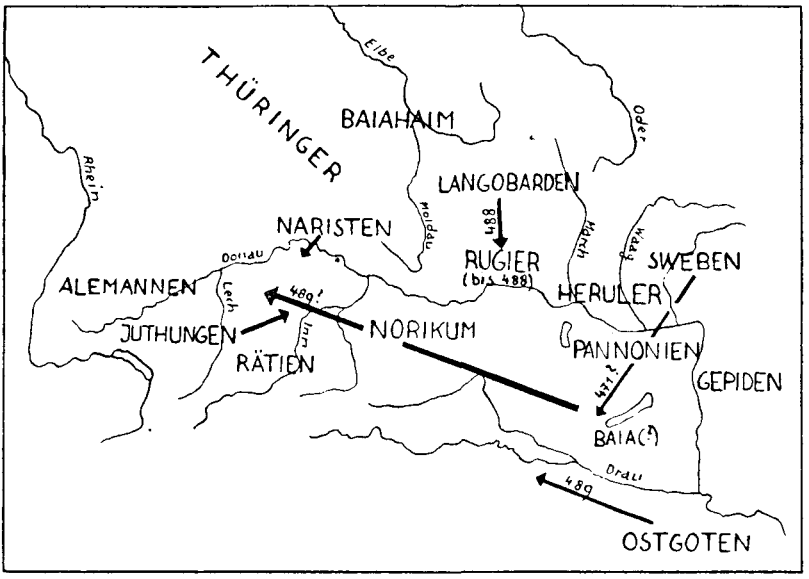


Map 3 - The migrations to and settlements in Britain from the Fifth to Seventh Centuries A.D. by the Anglo-Saxons – i.e., Anglos, Saxons, Jutes, and Frisians (Ernst Schwarz, *Germanische Stammeskunde*, 1956).



Map 4 - The geographical distribution of the Germanic tribes in central Europe in 488 A.D. (Ernst Schwarz, *Germanische Stammeskunde*, 1956).

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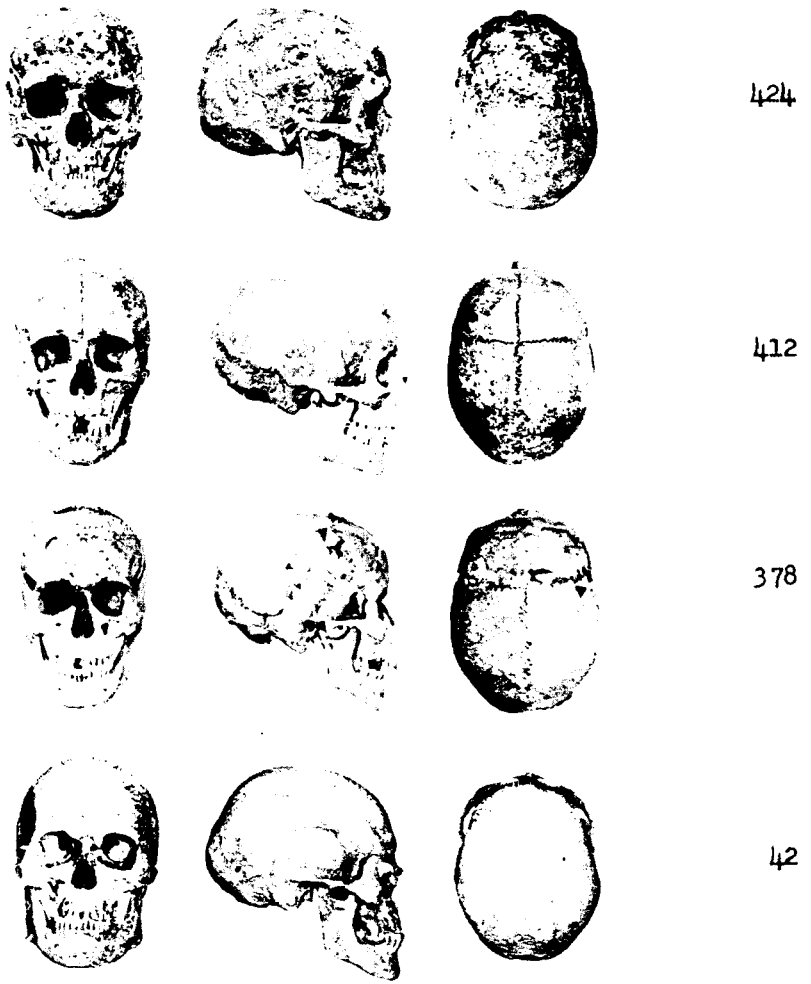

Figure 3 - Representative types of the Frankish male crania from Mannheim, Vegelstang, Germany. From top to bottom: No. 424, first most representative skull; No. 412, second most representative skull; No. 378, third most representative skull; and No. 42, least representative skull. (Friedrich W. Rosing, *Die Frankische Bevoelkerung von Mannheim-Vegelstang (6.-7. Jh.) und die Merewingerzeitlichen Germanengruppen Europas*, 1975).

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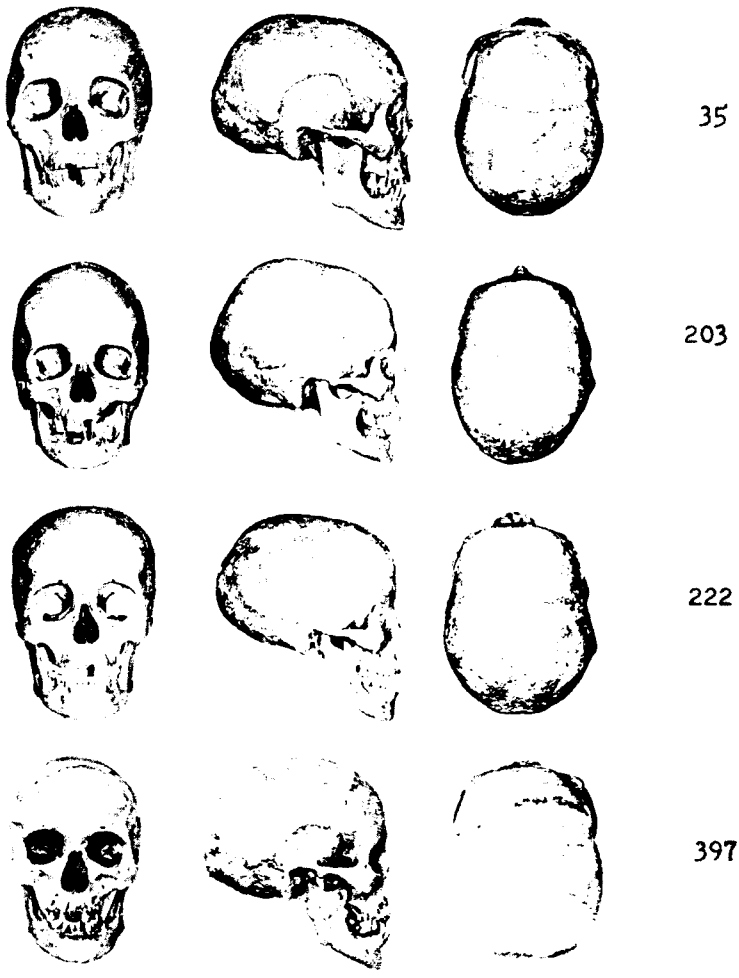

Figure 4 - Representative types of the Frankish female crania from Mannheim-Vogelstang, Germany. From top to bottom: No. 35, first most representative skull; No. 203, second most representative skull; No. 222, third most representative skull; and No. 397, least representative skull. (Friedrich W. Rösing, *Die Frankische Bevoelkerung von Mannheim-Vogelstang (6.-7. Jh.) und die Merewingerseitlichen Germanengruppen Europas*, 1975).

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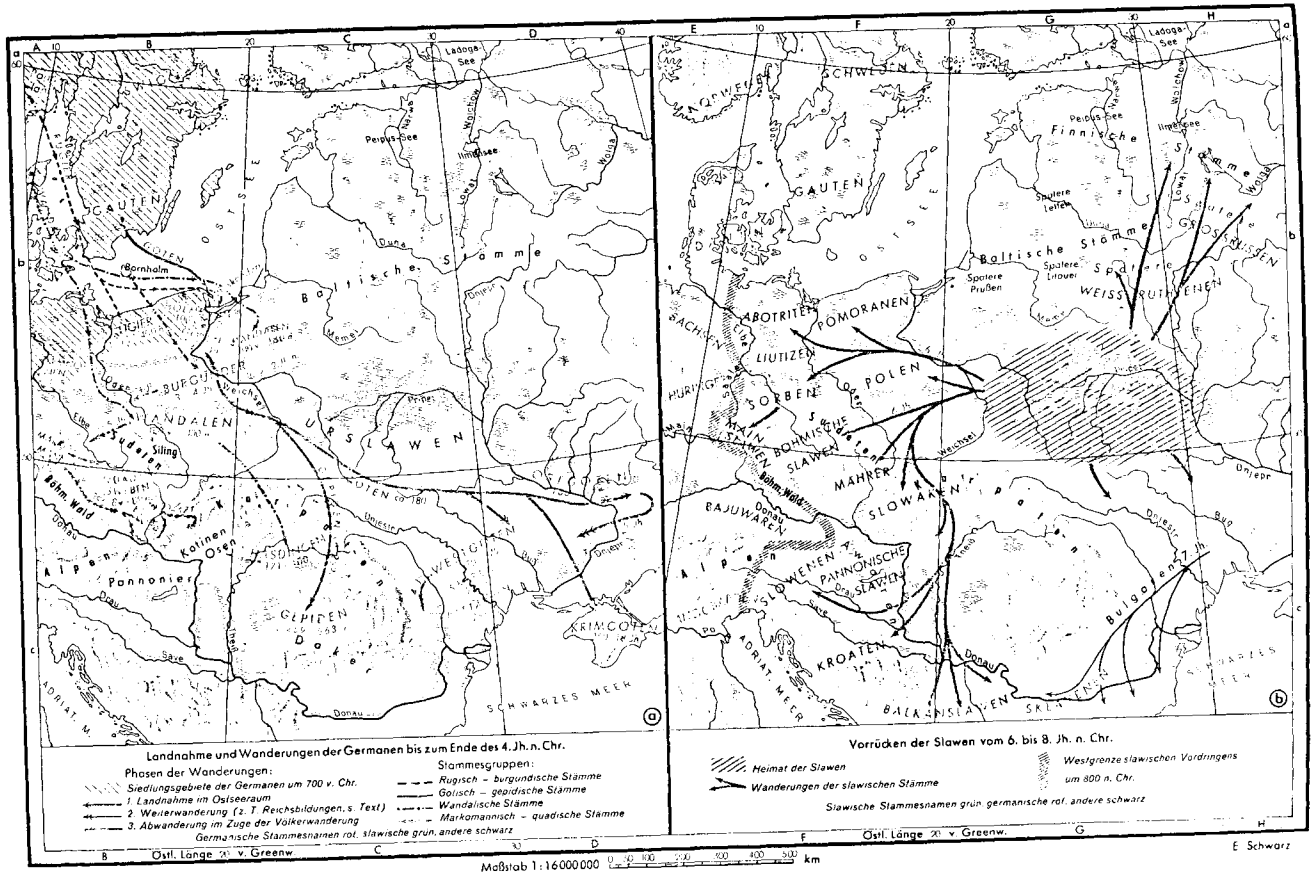
Landnahme und Wanderungen der Germanen bis zum Ende des 4. Jh. n. Chr.
Phasen der Wanderungen:
Siedlungsgebiete der Germanen um 700 v. Chr.
1. Landnahme im Ostseeraum
2. Weiterwanderung (z. T. Reichsbildungen, s. Text)
3. Abwanderung im Zuge der Völkerwanderung
Germanische Stammesnamen rot, slawische grün, andere schwarz
Stammesgruppen:
Rugisch – burgundische Stämme
Gotisch – gepidische Stämme
Wandalische Stämme
Markomannisch – quadische Stämme
Ostl. Länge 20° v. Greenw.
Vorrücken der Slawen vom 6. bis 8. Jh. n. Chr.
Heimat der Slawen
Wanderungen der slawischen Stämme
Westgrenze slawischen Vordringens um 800 n. Chr.
Slawische Stammesnamen grün, germanische rot, andere schwarz
Ostl. Länge 20° v. Greenw.
Maßstab 1:16000000
km
E. Schwarz

Map 5 - The migrations and settlements of the Germanic peoples up until the end of the Fourth Century A.D. (Ernst Schwarz, 1958).

Map 6 - The advance of the Slavic peoples from the Sixth to the Eight Centuries A.D. (Ernst Schwarz, 1958).

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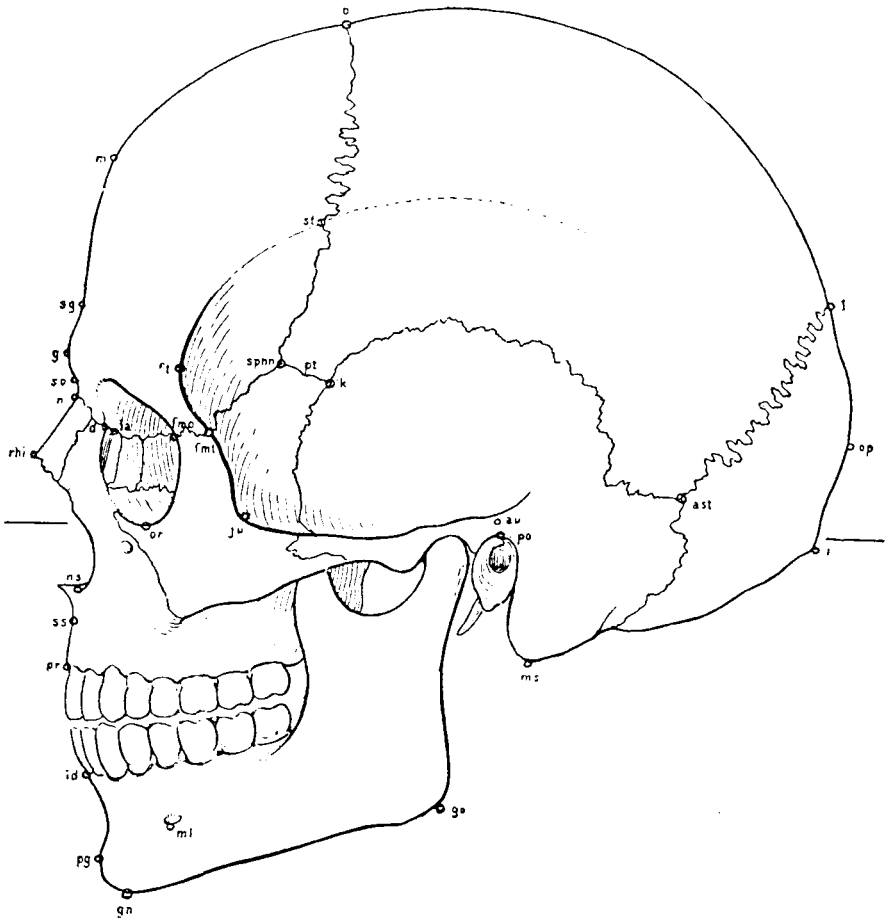

ast = Asterion, au = Auriculare, b = Bregma, d = Dakryon, fmo = Frontomalare orbitale, fmt = Frontomalare temporale, ft = Frontotemporale, g = Glabella, gn = Gnathion, go = Gonion, id = Infradentale, i = Inion, ju = Jugale, k = Krotaphion, la = Lakrimale, l = Lambda, ms = Mastoideale, ml = Mentale, m = Metopion, n = Nasion, ns = Nasospinale, op = Opisthokranion, or = Orbitale, pg = Pogonion, po = Porion, pr = Prosthion, pt = Pterion, rhi = Rhinion, sphn = Sphenion, st = Stephanion, ss = Subspinale, sg = Supraglabellare, so = Supraorbitale.

Figure 5 - Anthropometric measurement points on the human skull — side view. (R. Martin and K. Saller, *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie*, Vol. I, 1957).

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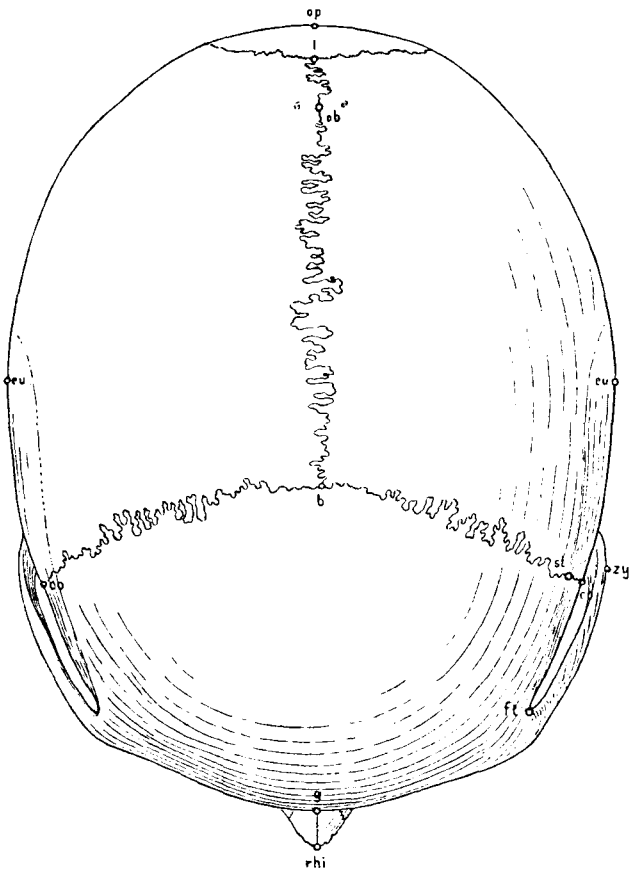

b = Bregma, co = Coronale, eu = Euryon, ft = Frontotemporale, g = Glabella, l = Lambda, ob = Obelion, op = Opisthokranion, rhi = Rhinion, st = Stephanion, zy = Zygion.

Figure 6 - Anthropometric measurement points on the human skull — top view. (R. Martin and K. Saller, *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie*, Vol. I, 1957).

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the mean values of populations which are generally cited in the scientific literature.

The constants or index values calculated by Professor W. Kočka for the European area were employed in the determination of the relative frequency of the individual anthropological elements. These index values for the five anthropological elements or racial types of the Europid primary race are listed in Table 1.

Results of the Anthropological Analysis

The results of the calculated anthropological and typological analyses are presented for the male Germanic cranial series in Tables 2 and 4 and for the female Germanic cranial series in Tables 3 and 5. The sites of the cranial finds, the identification of the Germanic tribes, and the names of the authors are included in the tables in order to be able to examine as quickly as possible the individual series. The bibliographic data were cited from the works of Dr. Rösing and Dr. Kočka. In the tabular compilations of this paper, some results from studies by Dr. Kočka and the author were included for comparative purposes. These data are presented in Tables 7, 8, and 9.

In the Germanic series under study, the crania are characterized on the average in the following measures. The skulls are medium-long and medium-high (height index according to Kocka). The upper face is medium-high, the orbits are medium-high, and the nose is medium-wide. A degree of sexual dimorphism is observable in the individual indices. That is, the female crania are somewhat shorter and the face unessentially wider. The orbits are higher and the nose is wider.

Dr. Rosing in his analysis could not determine any relatively essential differences between the two sexes. Indeed, this sexual dimorphism conditions to a certain degree the results of the typological analysis according to Wanke's approximation method. Dr Kočka in his work refers to this problem and takes into consideration the corresponding corrections in the case of female crania.

As can be seen from the tables, the calculated anthropological structures of the various Germanic populations of the Merovingian period indicate essentially everywhere, apart from a few cranial series, a considerable Nordic-Mediterranean type combination. In total the following anthropological structures

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of the Germanic cranial series could be established. For both sexes the Nordic and Mediterranean racial elements play a decisive primary role.

For the male Germanic cranial series, these two combinations occur as a majority in the same proportion. That is, the Nordic element is decidedly the largest in 16 series and the Mediterranean element in 17 series. In comparison, for the female Germanic cranial series, the Nordic element is the largest in 24 series and the Mediterranean element in 8 series. To be sure, if the correction for sexual dimorphism is taken into consideration, then the Nordic component is reduced in favor of the Mediterranean.

These calculated racial structures are in accord with the results obtained by Dr. Kočka in his comprehensive study of the anthropological history of Europe. This constitutes a certain proof for the fact that these analyses were correctly carried out (and in uniform manner). The predominance of the Mediterranean or Nordic components consequently depends upon the territorial location of the individual Germanic population groups. This is understandable from a historical standpoint and requires no special explanation.

Some Germanic series are separated essentially from the complete group by their unique, special anthropological structure. This structure is characterized in particular by strong, foreign admixtures. In this connection the following Germanic series are to be emphasized: No. 3 (Anglo-Saxons), No. 25 (Alemanni), No. 28 (Bavarians), No. 29-30 (Burgundians), and No. 33 (Langobards). (The Langobard series No. 31 appears to be questionable as a Germanic group). Among these Germanic series we can determine Dinaric (h) and Alpine (I) admixtures. (See my footnote on page 49. *Translator*)

Interesting in the entire compilation is the Anglo-Saxon series No. 3 from Dunstable, England. This series can be clearly separated from the other series by its Alpine (with strong Nordic) anthropological structure. These results must be repeatedly clarified.

Some anthropological structures can change in the course of time. The Thüringian group can serve as an example of this process. The North-West (Nordic-Mediterranean) structure of the Thüringians in the early Middle Ages changes into a typical Alpine (to be sure still with distinct Nordic admixtures)

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formation in the late Middle Ages.

It can be generally established that the Germanic groups differ from the Slavic groups at this period in European history in the percentage distribution of anthropological elements. The Slavic groups have a higher proportion of Mediterranean, Alpine, and Palaeo-Europid elements. In comparison, the Germanic groups are basically Nordic-Mediterranean or Mediterranean-Nordic in anthropological structure.

In the early Middle Ages there were repeated migrations and settlements of Germanic tribes in Slavic regions of Europe to the east and to the north. These Germanic penetrations ultimately introduced considerable Mediterranean-Nordic strains into the autochtonous Slavic populations. These admixtures are then clearly observable in the anthropological analyses.

The work of Dr. Rösing is especially worthwhile, since it places at our disposal in these material compilations (with comprehensive anthropological literature) the elaboration of early Medieval Germanic groups in different regions of Europe. It would now be desirable if other, different population groups from all time periods and regions (including the more recent anthropological finds) could also be elaborated and presented in this form. Such studies would provide comparative anthropological analyses to clarify the anthropological history and the ethnic origins of the peoples of Europe.

Summary

The 1975 doctoral dissertation of Dr. F. W. Rösing consisted of a detailed anthropological analysis of 178 male and 180 female cranial and skeletal remains from a Frankish cemetery in Mannheim-Vogelstang, Germany dating from the 6th. – 7th. Centuries A.D. The Frankish series was also compared to 35 Germanic male series and 34 Germanic female series dating from the Merovingian Period. The total number of crania employed in Dr. Rösing's study amounted to 2311 males and 1585 females from nine Germanic peoples: Anglo-Saxons (4), Saxons (1), Thüringians (1), Franks (9), Alemanni (12), Bavarians (1), Burgundians (2), Langobards (3), and Visigoths (3).

These cranial data were employed by the author to calculate typological analyses of the 36 Germanic male series and 35 Germanic female series, according to the approximation method of Adam Wanke. Dr. Wanke's method permits the calculation of

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the percentage distribution of the five major anthropological elements of the Europid or White primary race in a particular population: Nordic (a), Mediterranean (e), Dinaric (h), Alpine (l), and Palaeo-Europid (p).* This is on the basis of the mean values of five anthropological indices: the breadth-length index, the upper facial index (Kollmann), the nasal index, the orbital index, and the cranial height index (Hrdlička-Kočka).

The results of the typological analyses are presented in four tables – two for the males and two for the females. For the Germanic series as a whole, the mean values of the five anthropological indices indicate a medium-long and medium-high skull, a medium-high upper face, medium-high orbits, and a medium-wide nose. The Nordic and Mediterranean elements predominated in all but three of the Germanic series. For the male Germanic series, the Nordic element was the largest in 16 series and the Mediterranean element in 17 series. For the female Germanic series, the Nordic element was the largest in 24 of the series and the Mediterranean in 8 of the series. In the three remaining Germanic series, the Alpine or Dinaric racial element predominated.

On the basis of other anthropological studies, the author notes that the Slavic groups in central and eastern Europe at this time period – i.e., prior to the medieval eastward migrations and settlements of the Germanic peoples – differed from the Germanic groups by a higher proportion of Mediterranean, Alpine, and Palaeo-Europid elements. Some Germanic groups, such as the Thüringians, show a change in anthropological structure in the later Middle Ages – from a Nordic-Mediterranean structure to an Alpine formation with strong Nordic admixture. Further anthropological studies on other European population groups from this time period are recommended in order to clarify the anthropological history and the ethnic origins of the peoples of Europe.

* The author follows Wanke and uses the term Armenoid to refer to the type generally identified by English-speaking anthropologists as Dinaric (the term Armenoid traditionally being reserved by English-speaking anthropologists for the Hither Asiatic local race). He also uses the term Lapponoid to describe the type generally referred to in English manuscripts as Alpine. I have avoided use of the Wanke terminology to prevent confusion among English readers. Translator.

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TABLE 1

THE REFERENCE POINT INDEX VALUES FOR THE FIVE ANTHROPOLOGICAL ELEMENTS OF THE EUROPID PRIMARY RACE*
(Kočka, 1958)

Anthropological Trait	Anthropological Elements: Nordic a	Mediterranean e	Dinaric h	Alpine l	Palaeo-Europid p
1. Breadth-Length Index	76	69	86	84	73
2. Upper-Facial Index (Kollmann)	55	56	53	46	44
3. Nasal Index	46	44	43	56	58
4. Orbital Index	87	77	85	75	70
5. Height Index (Hrdlička-Kočka)	75	87	85	80	88

* The reference point index values were determined by Dr. W. Kočka from statistical analyses of 2083 prehistoric European crania from the Mesolithic period to the early Middle Ages.

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TABLE 2

THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF 36 GERMANIC MALE CRANIAL SERIES

Germanic Tribal Group	Site of Find	Author	Number of Crania	Arithmetic Mean Index Values: Breadth-Length Index	Upper-Facial Index	Nasal Index	Orbital Index	Height Index
1. Anglo-Saxons	Burwell, England	Layard & Young, 1935	62	76.8	51.9	48.3	78.3	81.9
2. Anglo-Saxons	Bidford-on-Avon, England	Brash & Young, 1936	43	73.5	51.6	46.8	84.2	83.8
3. Anglo-Saxons	Dunstable, England	Dingwall & Young, 1933	52	78.7	51.7	50.0	78.9	82.4
4. Anglo-Saxons	London, England	Morant, 1926	67	74.0	54.5	47.5	79.4	81.9
5. Saxons	Anderten, Germany	Hauschild, 1926	52	73.5	52.7	48.4	78.7	81.3
6. Thüringians	Thüringia, Germany	Kurth, 1953/54	100	72.1	53.1	49.0	79.2	84.2
7. Franks	Boulonnais, France	Hamy, 1893	20	73.2	48.5	47.1	82.9	82.4
8. Franks	Basse-Normandy, France	Doranlo, 1921	30	73.3	52.8	49.7	83.1	80.4

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TABLE 2
(Continued)

Germanic Tribal Group	Site of Find	Author	Number of Crania	Arithmetic Mean Index Values: Breadth-Length Index	Upper-Facial Index	Nasal Index	Orbital Index	Height Index
9. Franks	Haute-Normandy, France	Hamy, 1908	36	75.6	54.4	47.1	83.3	80.6
10. Franks	Andresy, France	Manouvrier, 1890	24	75.4	50.1	45.7	82.3	77.6
11. Franks	Ciply, Belgium	Houzé, 1915	44	75.3	52.0	43.9	82.0	80.9
12. Franks	West Franks, Germany	Rösing, 1975	109	76.8	51.3	49.2	81.0	80.0
13. Franks	Rheingau, Germany	Matthaus, 1940	62	73.4	55.6	46.9	79.1	81.5
14. Franks	East Franks, Germany	Rösing, 1975	37	72.6	52.6	47.3	81.9	81.1
15. Franks	Mannheim, Germany	Rösing, 1975	178	74.7	53.5	47.1	77.1	81.2
16. Alemanni	Württemberg, Germany	Lieven, 1948	50	72.2	53.9	47.8	77.4	82.6
17. Alemanni	Hailfingen, Germany	Schlunk, 1934	61	75.3	54.7	47.8	82.8	81.8

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TABLE 2
(Continued)

Germanic Tribal Group	Site of Find	Author	Number of Crania	Arithmetic Mean Index Values: Breadth-Length Index	Upper-Facial Index	Nasal Index	Orbital Index	Height Index
18. Alemanni	Donzdorf, Germany	Abels, 1972	26	73.5	54.1	45.9	84.2	72.7
19. Alemanni	Sontheim, Germany	Creel, 1966	23	74.5	55.2	47.5	80.5	81.0
20. Alemanni	Nusplingen, Germany	Eble, 1955	72	73.3	55.0	46.8	77.8	80.7
21. Alemanni	North Württemberg, Germany	Federau, 1970	59	73.8	52.8	48.0	88.7	80.0
22. Alemanni	Mengen, Germany	Meny, 1941	58	74.2	52.7	48.8	85.9	81.5
23. Alemanni	Weingarten, Germany	Huber, 1967	145	74.9	54.3	47.1	80.9	82.4
24. Alemanni	Epfach, Germany	Ziegelmayer, 1964	39	73.2	54.7	44.8	84.2	81.3
25. Alemanni	Elgg, Switzerland	Trudel, 1938	32	78.8	53.3	49.6	81.6	83.0

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TABLE 2
(Continued)

Germanic Tribal Group	Site of Find	Author	Number of Crania	Arithmetic Mean Index Values: Breadth-Length Index	Upper-Facial Index	Nasal Index	Orbital Index	Height Index
26. Alemanni	Oerlingen, Switzerland	Hauser, 1938	35	71.1	52.3	53.1	85.1	82.3
27. Alemanni	Bonaduz, Switzerland	Brunner, 1972	269	76.8	52.3	48.0	84.2	80.1
28. Bavarians	Riegeranger, Germany	Kramp, 1938 & Henckel, 1925	68	74.7	53.8	47.6	76.1	81.2
29. Burgundians + Alemanni	Solothurn, Switzerland	Hug, 1940	46	78.3	52.7	47.4	76.8	80.7
30. Burgundians	Jura, Switzerland	Sauter, 1942	109	76.5	54.4	49.2	80.2	81.0
31. Langobards	Linz, Austria	Rosenauer, 1939	17	74.2	49.4	46.4	82.7	81.8
32. Langobards	Szentendre, Hungary	Kiszely, 1966	33	71.5	56.6	48.6	79.8	79.6
33. Langobards	Kranj, Yugoslavia	Kiszely, 1970	30	76.9	53.2	48.2	79.7	84.6

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TABLE 2
(Continued)

Germanic Tribal Group	Site of Find	Author	Number of Crania	Arithmetic Mean Index Values: Breadth-Length Index	Upper-Facial Index	Nasal Index	Orbital Index	Height Index
34. Visigoths	Visigoths, Spain	Barras, 1927 & 1933	51	75.3	52.2	48.2	82.4	82.0
35. Visigoths	Visigoths, Spain	Schwidetzky, 1957	150	73.4	56.3	48.9	80.0	82.4
36. Visigoths	Silveirona, Portugal	da Cunha, 1955	22	72.7	58.1	45.4	83.9	82.7

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TABLE 3

THE TYPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF 36 GERMANIC MALE CRANIAL SERIES

Germanic Tribal Group	Site of Find	Author	Number of Crania	Anthropological Elements (%) Nordic	Mediterranean	Dinaric	Alpine	Palaeo-Europid
1. Anglo-Saxons	Burwell, England	Layard & Young, 1935	62	21.8%	29.7%	17.8%	20.8%	9.8%
2. Anglo-Saxons	Bidford-on-Avon, England	Brash & Young, 1936	43	32.8%	41.2%	12.4%	8.4%	5.2%
3. Anglo-Saxons	Dunstable, England	Dingwall & Young, 1933	52	19.5%	15.8%	21.2%	33.2%	10.3%
4, Anglo-Saxons	London, England	Morant, 1926	67	22.7%	55.7%	8.6%	7.6%	5.3%
5. Saxons	Anderten, Germany	Hauschild, 1926	52	23.3%	50.0%	8.3%	10.3%	8.1%
6. Thüringians	Thüringia, Germany	Kurth, 1953/54	100	11.2%	71.2%	4.8%	6.0%	6.6%
7. Franks	Boulonnais, France	Hamy, 1893	20	35.9%	33.5%	12.1%	11.1%	7.4%

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TABLE 3
(Continued)

Germanic Tribal Group	Site of Find	Author	Number of Crania	Anthropological Elements (%) Nordic	Mediterranean	Dinaric	Alpine	Palaeo-Europid
8. Franks	Basse-Normandy, France	Doranlo, 1921	30	58.9%	21.6%	7.3%	7.6%	4.5%
9. Franks	Haute-Normandy, France	Hamy, 1908	36	63.2%	17.3%	11.2%	5.9%	2.5%
10. Franks	Andresy, France	Manouvrier, 1890	24	68.3%	11.3%	9.8%	7.5%	3.1%
11. Franks	Ciply, Belgium	Houzé, 1915	44	52.4%	25.0%	13.7%	6.0%	3.2%
12. Franks	West Franks, Germany	Rösing, 1975	109	43.9%	16.5%	15.4%	17.8%	6.4%
13. Franks	Rheingau, Germany	Matthaus, 1940	62	21.9%	60.6%	7.4%	5.9%	4.2%
14. Franks	East Franks, Germany	Rösing, 1975	37	42.5%	39.5%	6.8%	6.4%	4.6%
15. Franks	Mannheim, Germany	Rösing, 1975	178	18.2%	51.9%	10.7%	11.4%	7.8%

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TABLE 3
(Continued)

Germanic Tribal Group	Site of Find	Author	Number of Crania	Anthropological Elements (%) Nordic	Mediterranean	Dinaric	Alpine	Palaeo-Europid
16. Alemanni	Württemberg, Germany	Lieven, 1948	50	9.9%	75.3%	4.3%	5.0%	5.4%
17. Alemanni	Hailfingen, Germany	Schlunk, 1934	61	46.4%	28.5%	13.2%	7.8%	4.0%
18. Alemanni	Donzdorf, Germany	Abels, 1972	26	93.6%	3.0%	1.8%	1.2%	0.5%
19. Alemanni	Sontheim, Germany	Creel, 1966	23	37.4%	39.7%	10.4%	7.7%	4.7%
20. Alemanni	Nusplingen, Germany	Eble, 1955	72	20.8%	57.9%	8.0%	7.4%	5.8%
21. Alemanni	North Württemberg, Germany	Federau, 1970	59	78.8%	9.8%	5.9%	3.8%	1.7%
22. Alemanni	Mengen, Germany	Meny, 1941	58	62.4%	17.0%	10.4%	6.8%	3.4%
23. Alemanni	Weingarten, Germany	Huber, 1967	145	28.9%	46.2%	11.9%	8.2%	4.7%

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TABLE 3
(Continued)

Germanic Tribal Group	Site of Find	Author	Number of Crania	Anthropological Elements (%) Nordic	Mediterranean	Dinaric	Alpine	Palaeo-Europid
24. Alemanni	Epfach, Germany	Ziegelmayer, 1964	39	58.1%	27.1%	8.0%	4.2%	2.6%
25. Alemanni	Elgg, Switzerland	Trudel, 1938	32	28.4%	16.0%	29.8%	19.0%	6.6%
26. Alemanni	Oerlingen, Switzerland	Hauser, 1938	35	43.8%	27.0%	9.0%	11.2%	9.0%
27. Alemanni	Bonaduz, Switzerland	Brunner, 1972	269	68.6%	9.8%	12.3%	6.7%	2.5%
28. Bavarians	Reigeranger, Germany	Kramp, 1938 & Henckel, 1925	68	15.2%	53.3%	10.1%	12.4%	8.9%
29. Burgundians + Alemanni	Solothurn, Switzerland	Hug, 1940	46	20.9%	23.5%	22.6%	23.5%	9.5%
30. Burgundians	Jura, Switzerland	Sauter, 1942	109	37.2%	25.6%	16.4%	14.2%	6.5%
31. Langobards	Linz, Austria	Rosenauer, 1939	17	40.6%	30.4%	13.2%	10.0%	5.8%

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TABLE 3
(Continued)

Germanic Tribal Group	Site of Find	Author	Number of Crania	Anthropological Elements (%) Nordic	Mediterranean	Dinaric	Alpine	Palaeo-Europid
32. Langobards	Szentendre, Hungary	Kiszely, 1966	33	39.1%	42.0%	6.4%	6.7%	5.7%
33. Langobards	Kranj, Yugoslavia	Kiszely, 1970	30	17.6%	36.4%	21.6%	16.1%	8.3%
34. Visigoths	Visigoths, Spain	Barras, 1927 & 1933	51	40.8%	29.3%	13.7%	10.7%	5.4%
35. Visigoths	Visigoths, Spain	Schwidetzky, 1957	150	23.4%	56.6%	7.8%	7.0%	5.1%
36. Visigoths	Silveirona, Portugal	da Cunha, 1955	22	39.1%	44.3%	8.5%	4.7%	3.3%

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TABLE 4

THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF 35 GERMANIC FEMALE CRANIAL SERIES

Germanic Tribal Group	Site of Find	Author	Number of Crania	Arithmetic Mean Index Values: Breadth-Length Index	Upper-Facial Index	Nasal Index	Orbital Index	Height Index
1. Anglo-Saxons	Burwell, England	Layard & Young, 1935	31	75.8	51.4	48.6	82.2	80.1
2. Anglo-Saxons	Bidford-on-Avon, England	Brash & Young, 1936	23	73.8	51.7	48.7	85.0	82.5
3. Anglo-Saxons	Dunstable, England	Dingwall & Young, 1933	12	79.9	-	-	-	78.9
4. Anglo-Saxons	London, England	Morant, 1926	60	74.2	52.1	51.0	79.5	82.8
5. Saxons	Anderten, Germany	Hauschild, 1926	38	75.7	53.6	48.3	81.5	81.7
6. Thüringians	Thüringia, Germany	Kurth, 1953/54	0	(No female crania)				
7. Franks	Boulonnais, France	Hamy, 1893	15	74.2	50.4	51.1	82.5	83.9
8. Franks	Basse-Normandy, France	Doranlo, 1921	13	74.5	53.7	50.2	85.8	81.9

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TABLE 4
(Continued)

Germanic Tribal Group	Site of Find	Author	Number of Crania	Arithmetic Mean Index Values: Breadth-Length Index	Upper-Facial Index	Nasal Index	Orbital Index	Height Index
9. Franks	Haute-Normandy, France	Hamy, 1908	15	79.2	50.8	47.2	83.4	82.5
10. Franks	Andresy, France	Manouvrier, 1890	11	75.6	56.1	42.3	92.5	82.7
11. Franks	Ciply, Belgium	Houzé, 1915	35	76.3	50.2	44.6	82.7	80.3
12. Franks	West Franks, Germany	Rösing, 1975	78	77.4	51.7	49.5	81.1	81.0
13. Franks	Rheingau, Germany	Matthaus, 1940	31	73.9	56.3	46.8	82.9	79.9
14. Franks	East Franks, Germany	Rösing, 1975	46	75.5	54.7	47.4	83.9	80.6
15. Franks	Mannheim, Germany	Rösing, 1975	180	75.2	54.2	47.9	75.4	79.3
16. Alemanni	Württemberg, Germany	Lieven, 1948	36	74.6	54.9	48.5	79.8	81.8

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TABLE 4
(Continued)

Germanic Tribal Group	Site of Find	Author	Number of Crania	Arithmetic Mean Index Values: Breadth-Length Index	Upper-Facial Index	Nasal Index	Orbital Index	Height Index
17. Alemanni	Hailfingen, Germany	Schlunk, 1934	57	76.0	51.0	50.5	82.6	79.9
18. Alemanni	Donzdorf, Germany	Abels, 1972	29	72.5	-	53.2	89.2	82.4
19. Alemanni	Sontheim, Germany	Creel, 1966	20	76.6	52.7	50.4	82.7	77.8
20. Alemanni	Nusplingen, Germany	Eble, 1955	50	74.1	56.6	48.9	83.0	80.4
21. Alemanni	North Württemberg, Germany	Federau, 1970	53	75.2	55.5	49.6	92.0	78.3
22. Alemanni	Mengen, Germany	Meny, 1941	52	75.0	51.9	49.4	86.5	80.0
23. Alemanni	Weingarten, Germany	Huber, 1967	96	75.9	53.8	48.9	82.6	81.8
24. Alemanni	Epfach, Germany	Ziegelmayr, 1964	32	75.2	53.0	49.5	83.2	82.3

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TABLE 4
(Continued)

Germanic Tribal Group	Site of Find	Author	Number of Crania	Arithmetic Mean Index Values: Breadth-Length Index	Upper-Facial Index	Nasal Index	Orbital Index	Height Index
25. Alemanni	Elgg, Switzerland	Trudel, 1938	38	76.6	53.1	50.5	82.4	80.6
26. Alemanni	Oerlingen, Switzerland	Hauser, 1938	19	75.0	56.8	45.1	85.9	78.3
27. Alemanni	Bonaduz, Switzerland	Brunner, 1972	190	78.2	53.7	49.9	87.4	80.5
28. Bavarians	Riegeranger, Germany	Kramp, 1938 & Henckel, 1925	51	75.9	53.5	47.9	78.6	80.6
29. Burgundians + Alemanni	Solothurn, Switzerland	Hug, 1940	36	79.3	52.5	48.7	81.5	81.7
30. Burgundians	Jura, Switzerland	Sauter, 1942	60	78.3	57.6	49.0	81.6	80.9
31. Langobards	Linz, Austria	Rosenauer, 1939	2	76.3	-	48.9	91.4	84.1
32. Langobards	Szentendre, Hungary	Kiszely, 1966	29	71.7	54.4	47.5	80.5	80.3
33. Langobards	Kranj, Yugoslavia	Kiszely, 1970	21	80.2	54.1	48.2	78.7	84.1

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TABLE 4
(Continued)

Germanic Tribal Group	Site of Find	Author	Number of Crania	Arithmetic Mean Index Values: Breadth-Length Index	Upper-Facial Index	Nasal Index	Orbital Index	Height Index
34. Visigoths	Visigoths, Spain	Barras, 1927 & 1933	15	72.8	54.8	48.7	81.4	85.0
35. Visigoths	Visigoths, Spain	Schwidetzky, 1957	103	74.7	55.3	48.9	82.8	83.0
36. Visigoths	Silveirona, Portugal	da Cunha, 1955	8	72.5	49.8	51.3	84.2	83.8

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TABLE 5

THE TYPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF 35 GERMANIC FEMALE CRANIAL SERIES

Germanic Tribal Group	Site of Find	Author	Number of Crania	Anthropological Elements (%) Nordic	Mediterranean	Dinaric	Alpine	Palaeo-Europid
1. Anglo-Saxons	Burwell, England	Layard & Young, 1935	31	54.4%	17.2%	12.1%	11.2%	4.9%
2. Anglo-Saxons	Bidford-on-Avon, England	Brash & Young, 1936	23	47.9%	26.5%	11.7%	8.9%	5.0%
3. Anglo-Saxons	Dunstable, England	Dingwall & Young, 1933	12	32.2%	2.0%	8.3%	54.2%	3.3%
4. Anglo-Saxons	London, England	Morant, 1926	60	22.7%	37.6%	10.2%	16.9%	12.6%
5. Saxons	Anderten, Germany	Hauschild, 1926	38	39.0%	29.6%	15.4%	10.8%	5.2%
6. Thüringians	Thüringia, Germany	Kurth, 1953/54	0	(No female crania)				
7. Franks	Boulonnais, France	Hamy, 1893	15	27.2%	32.1%	12.7%	17.2%	10.7%
8. Franks	Basse-Normandy, France	Doranlo, 1921	13	56.6%	18.9%	12.0%	8.4%	4.1%

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TABLE 5
(Continued)

Germanic Tribal Group	Site of Find	Author	Number of Crania	Anthropological Elements (%) Nordic	Mediterranean	Dinaric	Alpine	Palaeo-Europid
9. Franks	Haute-Normandy, France	Hamy, 1908	15	30.6%	11.1%	42.2%	11.7%	4.3%
10. Franks	Andresy, France	Manouvrier, 1890	11	50.1%	21.9%	20.1%	5.1%	2.8%
11. Franks	Ciply, Belgium	Houzé, 1915	35	54.2%	17.4%	17.5%	7.5%	3.4%
12. Franks	West Franks, Germany	Rösing, 1975	78	38.2%	17.1%	18.4%	19.7%	6.6%
13. Franks	Rheingau, Germany	Matthaus, 1940	31	67.7%	19.1%	6.7%	4.1%	2.3%
14. Franks	East Franks, Germany	Rösing, 1975	46	66.5%	15.3%	10.4%	5.3%	2.0%
15. Franks	Mannheim, Germany	Rösing, 1975	180	19.4%	42.0%	9.3%	18.2%	10.9%
16. Alemanni	Württemberg, Germany	Lieven, 1948	36	28.0%	45.9%	10.8%	9.5%	5.8%
17. Alemanni	Hailfingen, Germany	Schlunk, 1934	57	52.5%	14.7%	11.9%	15.2%	5.7%

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TABLE 5
(Continued)

Germanic Tribal Group	Site of Find	Author	Number of Crania	Anthropological Elements (%) Nordic	Mediterranean	Dinaric	Alpine	Palaeo-Europid
18. Alemanni	Donzdorf, Germany	Abels, 1972	29	45.0%	22.8%	10.4%	13.0%	8.7%
19. Alemanni	Sontheim, Germany	Creel, 1966	20	69.8%	8.2%	8.6%	10.3%	3.2%
20. Alemanni	Nusplingen, Germany	Eble, 1955	50	62.3%	20.9%	7.8%	5.6%	3.3%
21. Alemanni	North Württemberg, Germany	Federau, 1970	53	88.2%	4.2%	4.0%	2.4%	1.2%
22. Alemanni	Mengen, Germany	Meny, 1941	52	73.5%	9.7%	8.4%	5.7%	2.6%
23. Alemanni	Weingarten, Germany	Huber, 1967	96	44.9%	24.7%	14.9%	10.5%	4.9%
24. Alemanni	Epfach, Germany	Ziegelmayr, 1964	32	42.5%	27.3%	13.5%	11.4%	5.3%
25. Alemanni	Elgg, Switzerland	Trudel, 1938	38	50.7%	16.2%	13.8%	14.1%	5.2%
26. Alemanni	Oerlingen, Switzerland	Hauser, 1938	19	94.0%	2.4%	2.3%	0.9%	0.4%

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TABLE 5
(Continued)

Germanic Tribal Group	Site of Find	Author	Number of Crania	Anthropological Elements (%) Nordic	Mediterranean	Dinaric	Alpine	Palaeo-Europid
27. Alemanni	Bonaduz, Switzerland	Brunner, 1972	190	64.9%	7.9%	17.5%	7.2%	2.5%
28. Bavarians	Riegeranger, Germany	Kramp, 1938 & Henckel, 1925	51	28.9%	33.6%	15.0%	14.7%	7.7%
29. Burgundians + Alemanni	Solothurn, Switzerland	Hug, 1940	36	33.6%	12.2%	32.0%	17.2%	5.1%
30. Burgundians	Jura, Switzerland	Sauter, 1942	60	46.4%	16.0%	23.2%	10.4%	4.0%
31. Langobards	Linz, Austria	Rosenauer, 1939	2	34.5%	22.3%	24.7%	12.7%	5.6%
32. Langobards	Szentendre, Hungary	Kiszely, 1966	29	35.8%	47.3%	5.9%	5.9%	5.0%
33. Langobards	Kranj, Yugoslavia	Kiszely, 1970	21	16.7%	15.5%	40.1%	20.0%	7.7%
34. Visigoths	Visigoths, Spain	Barras, 1927 & 1933	15	14.1%	68.1%	6.8%	6.1%	4.8%

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TABLE 5
(Continued)

Germanic Tribal Group	Site of Find	Author	Number of Crania	Anthropological Elements (%) Nordic	Mediterranean	Dinaric	Alpine	Palaeo-Europid
35. Visigoths	Visigoths, Spain	Schwidetzky, 1957	103	35.3%	38.4%	12.8%	8.6%	4.9%
36. Visigoths	Silveirona, Portugal	da Cunha, 1955	8	33.2%	31.9%	11.2%	13.7%	10.0%

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TABLE 6

THE MEAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF THREE GERMANIC PEOPLES FROM THE MEROVINGIAN PERIOD ACCORDING TO THE APPROXIMATION METHOD OF ADAM WANKE (Miszkiewicz, 1979)

Germanic Tribal Group	Sex	Number of Series	Number of Crania	Anthropological Elements (%) Nordic	Mediterranean	Dinaric	Alpine	Palaeo-Europid
1. Anglo-Saxons	Male	4	224	24.2%	35.6%	15.0%	17.5%	7.7%
2. Franks	Male	9	540	45.0%	30.8%	10.5%	8.8%	4.9%
3. Alemanni	Male	12	869	48.1%	29.8%	10.0%	7.4%	4.7%
4. Anglo-Saxons	Female	4	126	39.3%	20.8%	10.5%	22.8%	6.6%
5. Franks	Female	9	424	45.6%	21.7%	16.6%	10.8%	5.3%
6. Alemanni	Female	12	672	59.7%	17.0%	10.3%	8.8%	4.2%

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TABLE 7

THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND TYPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS
OF THÜRINGIAN CRANIAL SERIES
(Miszkiewicz, 1970)

				Arithmetic Mean Index Values				
Germanic Tribal Group	Site	Sex	Number of Crania	Breadth-Length Index	Upper Facial Index	Nasal Index	Orbital Index	Height Index
Thüringians, Michaeliskirche[1]	Jena, Germany	Male	14	75.4	54.7	44.9	78.8	81.5
Thüringians, Michaeliskirche	Jena, Germany	Female	10	80.9	53.9	47.0	84.0	79.9
Thüringians, Magdala[2]	Jena, Germany	Male	105	82.2	52.2	50.4	79.1	81.5
Thüringians, Magdala	Jena, Germany	Female	57	83.4	51.4	49.0	81.2	80.1

				Anthropological Elements (%)				
Germanic Tribal Group	Site	Sex	Number of Crania	Nordic	Mediterranean	Dinaric	Alpine	Palaeo-Europid
Thüringians, Michaeliskirche[1]	Jena, Germany	Male	14	27.7%	30.6%	20.3%	16.9%	4.5%
Thuringians, Michaeliskirche	Jena, Germany	Female	10	24.5%	22.1%	34.4%	11.8%	7.2%
Thüringians, Magdala[2]	Jena, Germany	Male	105	17.5%	7.0%	31.2%	38.0%	6.3%
Thüringians, Magdala	Jena, Germany	Female	57	15.0%	7.7%	32.5%	38.3%	6.5%

1. XII - XV Centuries, A.D.

2. XV - XVIII Centuries, A.D.

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TABLE 8

THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF PREHISTORIC GERMANIC MALE CRANIAL SERIES
(Kočka, 1958)

Germanic Tribal Group	Arithmetic Mean Index Values				
	Breadth-Length Index	Upper-Facial Index	Nasal Index	Orbital Index	Height Index
1. Anglo-Saxons	74.1 (n=318)	52.8 (n=141)	47.7 (n=157)	79.7 (n=138)	82.0 (n=237)
2. Franks	72.5 (n=35)	52.5	48.4 (n=35)	79.8 (n=35)	83.3 (n=35)
3. Franks	76.4 (n=75)	54.0	47.5 (n=75)	81.7 (n=75)	80.4 (n=75)
4. Alemanni	77.0 (n=190)	52.9 (n=112)	47.1 (n=111)	80.3 (n=126)	81.4 (n=166)
5. Burgundians	76.3 (n=100)	54.3 (n=58)	46.2 (n=57)	80.3 (n=65)	81.4 (n=86)
6. West Goths	73.3 (n=48)	55.6 (n=24)	46.4 (n=22)	82.1 (n=29)	83.0 (n=31)

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TABLE 9

THE TYPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF PREHISTORIC
GERMANIC MALE CRANIAL SERIES
(Kočka, 1958)

Germanic Tribal Group	Anthropological Elements (%)				
	Nordic	Mediterranean	Dinaric	Alpine	Palaeo-Europid
1. Anglo-Saxons	24%	51%	9%	10%	6%
2. Franks	16%	65%	6%	7%	6%
3. Franks	54%	19%	15%	8%	4%
4. Alemanni	35%	25%	21%	13%	6%
5. Burgundians	35%	33%	18%	9%	5%
6. West Goths	26%	58%	8%	5%	3%

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TREE WORSHIP

JOHN WALTER TAYLOR

Virgil places the following quotation in the mouth of Evander: "This grove . . . this hill with its leafy crown – though we know not what god it is – is yet a god's home." (1) That trees were tenanted by spirits is a concept embodied in the following statement by Pliny that: ". . . trees were the temples of the deities . . . nor do we pay greater worship to images shining with gold and ivory than to the forests." (2) Indeed, Jacob Grimm, in his work *Teutonic Mythology*, after a rather complex etymological examination, concludes that among the Germanic peoples: " 'temple' then means also 'wood.' . . . There dwells the deity, veiling his form in the rustling foliage of the boughs." (3) Let us therefore consider the role of trees in ancient Indo-European myth and religion.

The Oak-Forest Environment

The final withdrawal of the northern European ice-sheets marks the beginning of the oak-forest environment. This withdrawal is estimated to have begun by approximately 7900 B.C. (4) The retreat of these glacial masses proved to be a significant event in the antiquity of Europe, for it brought with it changes of the first order. One of these was the release of vast quantities of water resulting from the melting of immeasurable tons of ice which caused a eustatic rise in sea level. (5) This consequent rise in the sea level was to change the geography of the continent.

The early post-glacial period also saw drastic alterations in the climate in respect to both temperature and precipita-

(1) Virgil, *Aeneid*, 2 vols., trans. H. Rushton Fairclouch (London: William Heinemann, 1930), II:85 (8.351-352). (The first citation of any given classical source will appear as a full reference. All subsequent, secondary references will appear in abbreviated form in the text.)

(2) Pliny, *Natural History*, 10 vols., trans. H. Rackham London: William Heinemann, 1960), IV:5 (12.2.3).

(3) J. L. K. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, 4 vols., trans. J. S. Stallybrass (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1966), I:69.

(4) Grahame Clark and Stuart Piggott, *Prehistoric Societies* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1968), p. 140.

(5) J. G. D. Clark, *The Mesolithic Settlement of Northern Europe* New York: Greenwood Press, 1970), p. 7.

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tion. (6) This change in climatic conditions saw a resultant variation in both flora and fauna, (7) and are identified first in a period labelled the Pre-Boreal Phase (ca. 8500-7200 B.C.).(8) This period saw a monumental change in the plant cover of the European continent. Now open vegetation was being replaced rapidly by forests. (9) Initially, the forests were composed of trees able to tolerate the relatively cold conditions, trees such as birch, pine, and willow.

The late glacial period was marked by massive high pressure areas over the glacial expanses. (10) This resulted in the deflection of Atlantic rainstorms south of their present course. The melting and retreat of the ice-sheets reduced this pressure and allowed south-west winds, bringing rain and mists from the Atlantic, to sweep over Europe. This increase in rainfall, initiating the second post-glacial period, the Boreal Phase (ca. 7200-5500 B.C.), (11) consequently modified the nature of the forests. The pine, dominant in early post-glacial times, was now being replaced by the oak. It is the pollen record of the Boreal Phase that indicates the appearance of the elements of *quercetum*. (12) Species *quercus* does not only appear but increases considerably in its percentage representations. (13)

Optimum climatic conditions marked the advent of the following Atlantic Phase (ca. 5500-3000 B.C.), (14) which was characterized by a marked increase in both precipitation and temperature. During this phase both summers and winters became wetter, and the oakwoods thrived in the resultant heavy damp soils. (15) Under such optimum climatic conditions,

(6) Ibid., p. 23.

(7) See E. A. Hoebel, *Anthropology* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), p. 116; and E. O. James, "Prehistoric Religion," in *Religions of the Past*, ed. C. J. Bleeker and G. Widengren (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969), p. 25.

(8) Paul Friedrich, *Proto-Indo-European Trees: The Arboreal System of a Prehistoric People* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 19.

(9) Clark and Piggott, *Prehistoric Societies*, p. 141.

(10) Ibid., pp. 149-150.

(11) Friedrich, *Proto-Indo-European Trees*, p. 19.

(12) R. G. Pearson, *Animals and Plants of the Cenozoic Era* (London: Butterworth's & Co., 1964), p. 82.

(13) Ibid.

(14) See Friedrich, *Proto-Indo-European Trees*, p. 21; and Ruth Tringham, *Hunters, Fishers and Farmers of Eastern Europe* (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1971), p. 31.

(15) See Tringham, *Hunters, Fishers and Farmers of Eastern Europe*, p. 31; and Christopher and Jacquetta Hawkes, *Prehistoric Britain* (Hardmonsworth: Penguin Books, 1952), pp. 39-40.

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the whole forest belts of Europe moved northward, to occupy even higher latitudes than do present forests. (16) The boundary of the oak forests also pushed further to the east, and also spread up the slopes of mountains to occupy new and higher altitudes. (17) Thus the species *quercus*, interspersed with alder, became the dominant element of the new forests. (18)

Von Post, a pioneer in paleobotany, concluded that the post-glacial temperature maximum coincided with the peak of the mixed oak forests of the Atlantic period. (19) *Quercus* had become the dominant forest tree, and by the middle of the Atlantic period oaks abounded in the Ciscaucasus, and had extended into the steppes and the Ukraine. *Quercus robur* became the dominant species in western Europe, comprising 50 percent of the great German forests. (20) *Quercus* was, indeed, the focal genus of the Atlantic Phase and lasted, as such, into the Sub-boreal Phase (ca. 3000-800 B.C.). (21)

Cultural Impact of the Forests

The retreat of the northern European glaciers and the phenomena that followed formed a new physical environment which resulted in compensatory cultural developments. The vanishing ice sheets opened up huge expanses of land for the settlement of man. Jacquetta Hawkes describes Europe as having exchanged a covering of ice for one of trees, (22) and this new forest environment demanded adaptation.

The spread of forests had drastic effects on both human and animal populations. The once great herds that had ranged and grazed on the tundra and the steppe of the late glacial period were forced to move on by encroaching woodlands. Their disappearance from western Europe effectively destroyed the culture of the paleolithic hunting societies in that region,

(16) Pearson, *Animals and Plants of the Cenezoic*, p. 83.

(17) See Tringham, *Hunters, Fishers and Farmers of Eastern Europe*, p. 31; and J. G. Evans, "Notes on the Environment of Early Farming Communities in Britain," in *Economy and Settlement in Neolithic and Bronze Age Britain and Europe*, ed. D. D. A. Simpson (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1971), p. 17.

(18) See Pearson, *Animals and Plants of the Cenezoic*, p. 82; and Clark and Piggott, *Prehistoric Societies*, p. 141.

(19) Clark, *Mesolithic Settlement of Northern Europe*, p. 26.

(20) Friedrich, *Proto-Indo-European Trees*, p. 130.

(21) Ibid., p. 22.

(22) Hawkes, *Prehistoric Britain*, p. 35.

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because such herds were the economic base on which their carefully adjusted cultures depended. (23) The disappearance of the great herds during early post-glacial times removed the cornerstone of the European meat supply, and this decline in game resources is reflected in smaller occupation sites which indicates a reduction in population. (24)

The Proto-Indo-Europeans

The core of this argument is based on the fact that the Atlantic Phase is of double significance. (25) It is my belief that it was during this period that the veneration of the oak took root, and that the worship of the oak was a natural development in the environment in which the Proto-Indo-European found himself. (26)

Proto-Indo-European Oak-Morphemes

Paul Friedrich cites three basic Proto-Indo-European oak-morphemes. (27) They are as follows:

1.) **ayg*
2.) **perk*^{w}
3.) **dorw* (28)

The first morpheme is reflected in three stocks. First is the Proto-Germanic **aiks*, whose primary denotation is "oak." The second stock is Greek and is represented by "*aigilops*," which denotes an oak with edible acorns – hence the oak species *Quercus aigilops*. The Latin word "*aesculus*" represents the third stock, from which species *Quercus esculentis* is derived. Varro makes reference to this morpheme by stating that the Esquiline Hill in Rome was named ". . . from the fact that it was planted with *aesculi* [oaks] by King Tullius." (29) Varro also mentions the *Aesculetum*, the Oak Grove, which

(23) Ibid.

(24) Butzer, *Environment and Archaeology*, pp. 535-537.

(25) Paul Friedrich, "Proto-Indo-European Trees," in *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans*, ed. G. Cardona, H. H. Hoenigswald and A. Senn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970), p. 14.

(26) Ibid. This viewpoint seems to be universally acceptable.

(27) See Paul Friedrich, "Proto-Indo-European Trees," in *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans*, p. 21.

(28) The asterisk before each morpheme is the method used to denote hypothetically reconstructed proto-morphemes by Indo-Europeanists.

(29) Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, 2 vols., trans. R. G. Kent (London: William Heinemann, 1958), I:47 (5.49).

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according to him was named after the oak tree, *aesculus* (Varro *De Lingua Latina* 5.152). Latin *aesculus* is cognate with the **ayg* morpheme through the following hypothetical reconstruction: **aeg-s-colo* (30) and **aig-sklos*. (31) Germanic cognates of the **ayg* morpheme are represented as follows:

Old Norse – *eik*
Danish – *eg*
Swedish – *ek*
Old English – *ac/ak/ags*
Middle English – *oke*
Modern English – oak
Dutch – *eik*
Old High German – *eih*
Middle High German – *eich*
Modern German – *eiche*. (32)

Hence the **ayg* morpheme has cognates in three Indo-European branches, the Germanic, Italic, and Greek.

The second oak-morpheme, $perk^w$, is more complex, but far more interesting. Friedrich connects it with the Balto-Slavic Perku, Perkunas, and Perun, all gods of thunder, to whom the oak is sacred. He also believes the Vedic Parjanyah to be cognate. (33) In the Italic and Celtic languages, evidence for the $*perk^w$ morpheme is to be found. The Latin *quercus* shows an initial consonant shift from the original $p. . .k^w$ to $k^w. . .k^w$. (34) Varro mentions this word and believes it to be the root of *Larum Querquetulanum*, which means the "Chapel of the Oak Grove" (Varro *De Lingua Latina* 5.49). The Celtic cognate of *quercus* loses the initial "p" from the $*perk^w$ morpheme, yielding $*erk^w$, and eventually is reflected in Ercynia or Hercynia (35) as mentioned by Julius Caesar. (36)

(30) Friedrich, *Proto-Indo-European Trees*, p. 133.
(31) Julius Pokorny, *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bern: A. Franke, 1959), p. 13.
(32) See Pokorny, *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 13; Friedrich, *Proto-Indo-European Trees*, p. 132; and C. D. Buck, *Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principle Indo-European Languages* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1949), p. 528.
(33) Friedrich, *Proto-Indo-European Trees*, pp. 135-136.
(34) See Friedrich, *Proto-Indo-European Trees*, pp. 137; and Warren Cowgill, "Italic and Celtic Superlatives and Dialects of Indo-European," in *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans*, ed. G. Cardona, H. Hoenigswald and A. Senn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970), p. 113.
(35) Friedrich, *Proto-Indo-European Trees*, p. 138.
(36) Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, trans. H. J. Edwards (London: William Heinemann, 1970), p. 349 (6.24).

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Thus the *perk*^{w} morpheme manifests itself in cognate form in the Baltic, Slavic, Indic, Latin, and Celtic tongues.

The third morpheme, **dorw*, has a primary denotation in Proto-Celtic which probably meant the oak tree. (37) This morpheme is preserved in the following cognate forms:

Old Irish – *daur*
Old Irish – *derucc* (acorn)
Cornish – *dar*
Welsh – *derwen*
Modern Irish – *dair*
Breton – *dervenn*. (38)

The greek *drus*, as mentioned by Pliny (*Natural History* 16; 95: 249), is also believed to be cognate with the **dorw* morpheme. (39) Buck states that this Indo-European morpheme, which he labels **derwo*, primarily meant oak, but, as a later development, may have meant tree or wood in general. (40)

Friedrich believes that the variety of oak-morphemes for the genus oak may have served to denote three distinct specis. Conjecturally, he equates **ayg* with the holly oak, **perk*^{w} with the winter oak, and **dorw* with the English oak. (41) Indeed, Theophrastus recognizes the rich sub-generic differentiation in species *quercus*. He writes: "Take then the various kinds of oak; for in this tree men recognize more difference than in any other." (42) These differences would be quite obvious to the Proto-Indo-European utilizing, and living, among the oaks, and this differentiation would naturally be symbolized by different words.

Oak Veneration in Ancient Greece

That the species *quercus* flourished in ancient Greece is well attested in classical sources. Pausanias certainly makes reference to groves and woods of oak trees. He states that in the region of

(37) Friedrich, *Proto-Indo-European Trees*, p. 144.
(38) See Friedrich, *Proto-Indo-European Trees*, p. 144; and Buck, *Dictionary of Selected Synonyms*, p. 528.
(39) Buck, *Dictionary of Selected Synonyms*, p. 528.
(40) Ibid.
(41) Friedrich, "Proto-Indo-European Trees," in *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans*, p. 21.
(42) Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants*, 2 vols., trans. Arthur Holt (London: William Heinemann, 1916), I:205 (3.8.2).

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Laconia ". . . on the way from Hermae the whole region is full of oak trees." (43) In Achaia, he adds, the district around Phelloe is covered with oaks (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 7.26.10). Ovid, in turn, describes Mount Pelion as being draped with oaks. (44) Pliny describes the Saronic Gulf, between Attica and the Peloponnesus, as being ringed with oaken forests. In fact, he notes that the very name of this gulf originated from an old Greek word meaning oak (Pliny *Natural History* 4; 5: 18). It is of little wonder that J. G. Frazer remarked that the Greek peninsula in antiquity may have been spanned with great tracts of oak. (45)

The Oak and the Nymph

In a purely animistic strain, the early Greeks believed the oak to be inhabited by a resident entity, the nymph or hamadryad. Pausanias reports, "The natives say that Tithorea was so called after a nymph . . . one of those who in days of old grew out of trees and especially out of oaks" (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 10; 32: 9). Here one might note the characteristic reference to the antiquity of such a phenomenon.

The character of these beings is unique, for they are neither mortal nor immortal. The length of their lives is determined by the life-span of the oak. Callimachus reflects on this relationship in his *Hymn to Delos*. He writes: "The earth born nymph, Melia, . . . paled as she panted for her coeval oak . . . did the oaks come into being at the same time as the nymphs?" (46) Here Callimachus refers initially to their relationship as being coeval, but later he seems to feel the need to question which of the two came into being first. One Homeric hymn points out that the oak and the nymph are certainly coeval, stating that: ". . . at their birth . . . oaks spring up with them . . and at last the life of the Nymph and of the tree leave the light of the sun together."(47)

(43) Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 4 vols., trans. W. H. S. Jones and H. A. Ormerod (London: William Heinemann, 1964), II:63 (3.10.6).

(44) Ovid, *Fasti*, trans. J. G. Frazer (London: William Heinemann, 1931), p.219 (5.333-334).

(45) Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 13 vols., 3rd ed. (London: Mcmillan & Co., 1955), II:8,

(46) Callimachus, *Hymns and Epigrams*, trans. A. W. Mair (London: William Heinemann, 1955), p. 91 (4.79-85).

(47) *Hymn to Aphrodite* 5.264-274, in *Hesiod, Homeric Hymns, Fragments of the Epic Cycle*, trans. Hugh-Evelyn White (London: William Heinemann, 1914; reprint, 1959), p. 425.

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Apollonius Rhodius also joins the chorus in support of the coevality of the oak and the nymph. He writes of a hamadryad and "the stump of an oak tree coeval with herself, wherein for a long time she had lived continually" (Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 2: 476-480). Ausonius also realized this special link between the oak and the nymph when he reported that the tree does not die until the hamadryad expires. (48)

The Oak Grove

It seems that oak worship in Greece manifested itself primarily in the reverence of certain groves. Pausanias saw on the road from Corinth to Titane ". . . a grove of holm-oaks and a temple to a goddess named by the Athenians, the August" (Pausanius *Description of Greece* 2; 11: 4). He also noted Eleusian type rites, which he describes as "the mysteries of the great goddess Demeter," which were being held by Lycus in an oak wood, where celebrants were being purified (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 4; 1: 6). Demeter is again linked with the oaks in Arcadia, where sacrifices were laid to her in a grove of oaks (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 8; 42: 12).

On the road from Tegea to Argos was another sanctuary to Demeter. Pausanias recounts that in this region "are many oaks, and in the grove of oaks is a temple to Demeter" (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 8; 54: 5). Hermes, too, is associated with a grove of evergreen oaks (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 9; 24: 5), as is Ares, for it was on an oak, in a grove dedicated to the gold of war, that Aeetes, king of the Colchis, hung the famous golden fleece. (49) Artemis-Diana, goddess of the woodlands, also had a sacred oak in Arcadia. (50)

It is proposed here that the area immediately surrounding the oak tree, an area shaded by its spreading boughs, represented a *temenos*. The oak tree was the temple and beneath its branches lay its sacred precinct. The Greeks practiced the custom of erecting sacred images in this oak-*temenos*. Apollonius Rhodius reports the following:

(48) Ausonius, *Technopaegnion*, 2 vols., trans. H. G. Evelyn-White (London: William Heinemann, 1961), I:299 (10).

(49) Apollodorus, The Library, 2 vols., trans. J. G. Frazer (London: William Heinemann, 1961), I:77 and I:95 (1.9.1 and 1.9.16); cf. Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica*, trans. J. H. Mozley (London: William Heinemann, 1934), p. 261 (5.228-230)

(50) Statius, *Thebaid*, 2 vols., trans. J. H. Mozley (London: William Heinemann, 1961), II:295 (9.585-588).

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> There was a sturdy stump of vine, . . . a tree exceeding old; this they cut down, to be a sacred image . . . and Argus smoothed it, . . . and they set it . . . beneath a canopy of lofty oaks (Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 1: 1117-1122).

Callimachus also makes note of a similar practice, whereby the Amazons erected an image beneath an oak in Ephesus (Callimachus *Hymn to Artemis* 3: 236-239). Undoubtedly, such images were often carved of oak, for Pausanias mentioned that in ancient times men made images of oak, among other trees (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 8; 17: 2).

The Oak As the Sacred Tree of Zeus

The *Daedala* is only one of the many instances where the oak looms large in connection with Zeus. Even his very birth is associated with the inception and growth of the oak. It is written: "For at this time when Rhea loosed her girdle, full many a hollow-oak did watery Iaon bear aloft" (Callimachus *Hymn to Zeus* 1: 20-21). In addition, it was to Zeus, his father, that Aeacus beseeched: "Give me back my people." The population of his island, Aegina, had perished in a plague. Zeus replied with characteristic thunder and lightning as a sign of assent. Ovid continues the tale thus:

> It chanced there was an oak nearby with branches unusually widespread, sacred to Jove (Zeus) and of Dodona's stock. Here we spied a swarm of ants . . . "O most excellent father, grant me just as many subjects." . . . the lofty oak trembled and moved its branches in the windless air. (51)

This phenomenon evidently signified that Zeus had recognized the plea. Aeacus' wish was granted, the ants and the quivering oak appeared to him in a dream, and upon his awakening the ants had been transformed into people. His prayers had been answered, but what is more important is that an oak was used by Zeus as an instrument of communication, an acknowledgment to his son that he had heard his request.

It was also on an oak that the golden fleece was hung in a sacred grove of Ares. The oak is sacred, above all others, to

(51) Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 2 vols., trans. F. J. Miller (London: William Heinemann, 1929), I:385 (7.618-630).

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Zeus, and the fleece belonged to a ram that had been sacrificed to Zeus (Apollodorus *The Library* 1;9: 2).

Zeus and Dodona

Perhaps the oldest and certainly the most outstanding example connecting Zeus with the oak is at the oracle of Dodona. At Dodona, Zeus had a sacred mantic oak through which his will might be learned. Evans is of the opinion that the oak oracle at Dodona represented one of the most ancient sanctuaries of a once thriving tree worship. (52)

The first known appearance of the oracle at Dodona, in Greek literature, is to be found in Homer's *Iliad*. (53) It appears when Homer puts into the mouth of Achilles the following:

> Zeus, thou king, Dodonean, Pelasgian, thou dwellest afar, ruling over wintry Dodona, and about thee dwell the *Selli*, thine interpreters, men with unwashen feet that couch on the ground. (54)

The first appearance of the oracular oak, in Greek texts, also appears in Homer, and appears afterwards, in other authors, constantly in connection with Dodona. Information on the mantic oak at Dodona is twice repeated in *The Odyssey*. It reads: "But Odysseus, he said, had gone to Dodona, to hear the will of Zeus from the high-crested oak of the god." (55)

This statement is of great importance, for it identifies the oak as the tree of Zeus, and indicates that the oak is, indeed, oracular. More important is the implication that the will of Zeus was audible from the oak itself. It makes no mention of the will of Zeus being conveyed through other means, such as the creaking of the oak's trunk or the rustling of leaves. Odysseus went to hear the will of Zeus from the high crested oak, not from intermediaries. There is no mention here of the *Selli*, as interpreters of the oak in this passage. One is led to believe that the oak communicated in human speech. Ovid can be

(52) Arthur Evans, "Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cults and Its Mediterranean Relations," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 29 (1901):127.

(53) H. W. Parke, *The Oracles of Zeus* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 1.

(54) Homer, *Iliad*, 2 vols., trans. A. T. Murray (London: William Heinemann, 1934), 2:181 (16.233-235).

(55) Homer, *Odyssey*, 2 vols., trans. A.T. Murray (London: William Heinemann, 1942), II:57 (19.296-297).

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found saying: "Think no man, but the Pelasgian oaks are saying this." (56) The belief that Zeus spoke through his sacred tree, the oak, is made almost certain from the writings of a succession of authors who testify to the fact that a timber from the oak of Dodona was fitted into the keel of the ship Argo. One of the oldest references to this matter is to be found in a fragment written by Aeschylus which states: "Where is Argo's sacred speaking beam?" (57) Apollodorus of Athens is quite exact when he writes: ". . . the Argo having declared with human voice that she could not bear his [Hercules] weight" (Apollodorus *The Library* 1; 9: 19). He also makes mention of the goddess Athena fitting the Argo with ". . . a speaking timber from the oak of Dodona" (Apollodorus *The Library* 1; 9: 16). Apollonius Rhodius, too, reveals a "beam divine . . . brought from the oak of Dodona," and fitted into the hull of the Argo (Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 1: 26-27). Later he is more specific, stating:

> And straightaway on a sudden there called to them in the midst of their course, speaking in a human voice the beam . . . made of Dodonean oak. And deadly fear seized them as they heard the voice of the grievous wrath of Zeus (Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 14: 580-585).

Claudian also refers to this prophetic timber as having the power of speech. (58)

If the oracular responses at Dodona had been imagined as having come from outside the tree, that is, as Philostratus would have the reader believe, (59) from bronze gongs, doves, priests, or priestesses, then it would make little sense to build its timber into a ship in hope of prophecy. (60) Hence it is believed here that the oak itself was responsible for the revelations. Aeschylus supports this conclusion when he refers to the oracle as "the talking oak" (Aeschylus *Prometheus Bound* 832). Pausanias, writing on Dodona, declared that this

(56) Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, trans. J. H. Mozley (London: William Heinemann, 1939), p. 103 (2.541).

(57) Aeschylus, *Works of Aeschylus*, 2 vols., trans. H. W. Smythe (London: William Heinemann, 1936), II:385 (Fragment 8).

(58) Claudian *De Bello Gothico*, 2 vols., trans. Maurice Platnauer (London: William Heinemann, 1963), II:127 (26.18-19).

(59) Philostratus, "Imagines," in *Philostratus and Eunapius*, trans. W. C. Wright (London: William Heinemann, 1952), p. 267-269 (2.33.1-25).

(60) Parke, *Oracles of Zeus*, p. 13.

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sanctuary was particularly important because the truest oracles were responses from the oak. (61) In Pre-Homeric times prophecy from the oracular oak at Dodona was initially delivered by direct revelation, as alluded to by many of the references cited above. Homer's *Iliad* does, however, mention the *Selli* as being interpreters, as noted above, but this may have been a later development, as was the replacement of priests by priestesses.

Philostratus calls these priests *Helloi*, whereas both Homer and Sophocles refer to them respectively as *Selli* and *Selloi*. (62) That the *Selli* were interpreters of the oracles must be left open to question. However, one cannot help but wonder why they should be necessary, for according to Aeschylus, the prophecies are clear and concise, and would therefore need no interpretation. He writes:

> . . . where is the prophetic seat of Thesprotian Zeus and that marvel, passing all belief, the talking oaks, by which thou clearly, and in no riddling terms, was saluted (Aeschylus *Prometheus Bound* 830-835).

Dodona stands as one of the oldest oracles in Greece. Its great antiquity is affirmed by Herodotus, who states: ". . . for this place of divination is held to be the most ancient in Hellas." (63) Originally, the Proto-Indo-Europeans, moving into Greece and bringing with them a sacred regard for the oak, may have established a cult center at Dodona. The arrival of the Indo-Europeans in Greece has been calculated as occurring between 2500-1500 B.C. (64) It is, therefore, possible that years before Homer penned his *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the oak at Dodona was being regarded as the tree of the Indo-European sky-god, or it may have been regarded as the good incarnate. Reinach states that the oak was Zeus before becoming the tree of Zeus. (65)

(61) Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 1.17.5 and 7.21.3; cf. Callimachus, *Iambi*, trans. C. A. Trypanis (London: William Heinemann, 1958), p. 129 (5.30-32).

(62) Sophocles, "Trachiniae," in *Sophocles*, 2 vols., trans. F. Storr (London: William Heinemann, 1929), II:349 (167).

(63) Herodotus, *The History*, 4 vols., trans. A. D. Godley (London: William Heinemann, 1960), I:341 (2.52); cf. Pausanias *Description of Greece* 8.23.5.

(64) W. Wyatt, "Indo-Europeanization of Greece," in *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans*, ed. G. Cardona, H. Hoenigswald and A. Senn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970), p. 89.

(65) Reinach, *Orpheuse*, p. 84.

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Pherecydes and the Winged Oak

The oracle at Dodona may well be regarded as the high point in Greek oak veneration, but it does not exhaust the evidence. There is one equally interesting example that appears in the writings of Pherecydes of Syros, a sixth century B.C. mythographer and theogonist. Isodorus *apud Clement of Alexandria* makes reference to the following citation: ". . . that they may learn what is the winged oak and the decorated cloth upon it, all that Pherecydes said in allegory about the gods." (66) This is an intriguing phrase, but more insight is provided when coupled with this complementary third century A.D. Greek fragment: "And on the third day of the wedding Zas makes a great and fair cloth and on it he decorates Ge and Ogenos [Oceanos]." (67) This is the embroidered cloth which is hung from the winged oak. It is a gift from Zas to his betrothed Chthonie. Zas is obviously an etymological form of Zeus. (68) It becomes quite clear that this marriage is, indeed, an allegorical union of Zeus, as the sky-god, with Chthonie, who represents the solid substructure of the earth. Zeus as a wedding present, symbolically offers Ge, the variegated surface of the earth, and Oceanos, to Chthonie.

Arcadia and the Oak

In Arcadia, where men still ate acorns in historical times, the oak was especially regarded as sacred. In fact, as Lycophron indicates, the Arcadians were so intimately associated with the oak that they regarded themselves as being born of the oak, veritable "sons of the oak" (Lycophron *Alexandra* 480). Pausanias points out that Arcadia was rich in oaks, referring to three different species in that area (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 8; 12: 1). Sir Arthur Evans considers the shrine of Arcadian Zeus in the oakwoods of Mount Lycaios to be among the most ancient sanctuaries of the old tree worship, comparable, at least, to Dodona. (69) It is Pausanias that relates the story of how the priests of Zeus Lycaios, after a terrible

(66) G. S. Kirk and J. E. Raven, *Pre-Socratic Philosophers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), p. 62.
(67) Ibid., p. 60.
(68) Ibid., p. 55.
(69) A. J. Evans, "Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, p. 127.

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drought, would pray for rain. They would then lower a sacred branch of oak into a pool of water, and this would cause a vaporous steam to arise from the pond, resulting in a cloud that would bring rain upon the land of the Arcadians (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 8: 383-5). Indeed, it was in Arcadia that Atalanta chose a fertile oak as the sacred tree to be devoted to Diana-Artemis (Statius *Thebaid* 9: 585-588). The fact that the oak was associated with Diana is alluded to in a poem from Aristophanes. (70)

Hercules

Hercules, too, had a special regard for the oak tree. This would seem natural enough, being that the oak was sacred to his father, Zeus. Callimachus states that Hercules was cremated under an oak, in its *temenos* so to speak (Callimachus *Hymn to Artemis* 3: 159). Not only did his cremation take place under an oak, but he especially demanded that only wood of the oak and the olive be used for the funeral pyre (Sophocles *Trachinias* 1195). Heracles is also credited with the planting of two oaks at the altars of Zeus Stratios in the Pontos, as a gesture of reverence to his father (Pliny *Natural History* 16; 89: 239).

Oak and Rock

Before leaving the realm of Greece, it is necessary to discuss another oak oriented topic. Three different authors refer to an archaic fable concerning "oak and rock." Homer makes reference to it in both the *Iliad* (22: 126) and the *Odyssey* (19: 163). Hesiod, too, makes a similar reference in his Theogony. (71) The *Odyssey*, in particular, states: "Yet, even so tell me of thy stock from whence thou art, for thou art not sprung from an oak of ancient story, or from stone (Homer *Odyssey* 19: 163).

The above quotation alludes to the fact that once there was an ancient tradition that, as interpreted here, relates how the oak and the rock represented the progenitors of mankind. Plato's *Republic* certainly reflects, symbolically, this tradition: "Or do you think that constitutions spring from the proverbial

(70) Aristophanes, "Thesmophoriazusae," in *Aristophanes*, 3 vols., trans. B. B. Rogers (London: William Heinemann, 1955), 3:143 (114-116).

(71) Hesoid, "Theogony," in *The Works of Hesiod, Callimachus and Theognis*, trans. J. Banks (London: Bell & Daldy, 1873), p. 3 (25).

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oak or rock?" (72) Cook concluded after a discussion of the "oak and rock" matter that they are to be equated with mythical ancestors. (73) One need only to refer to the myth concerning the repeopling of the earth by Deucalion and Pyrrha to find an example of stones becoming people. As for the tree being an ancestor of mankind, it was a popular notion embodied in the Arcadian belief that they were "sons of the oak."

According to Mircea Eliade, the association of the tree with the rock is a sacred phenomenon. He believes that from Minoan times until the dawn of Hellenism the worship of the tree with its companion stone was practiced. This sacred association, he adds, represents a microcosmic miniature of the earth, in that it reproduces the natural landscape, with the rock symbolizing the mineral world and the tree representing the vegetal realm. (74)

It has been demonstrated that Greece was an area rich in oak forests and groves. This would provide an excellent environment in which the Proto-Indo-European oak-cultus might flourish.

Oak Veneration among the Italic Peoples

Like the area of the Greeks, the region of the Indo-European Italic peoples is also an area where evidence of oak veneration can be found. Italy, too, was a land thickly wooded in antiquity. Livy remembers when "The Ciminian Forest [of Etruria] was more impassable and appalling than . . . the wooded defiles of Germany." (75) Immediately southeast of Rome, Mount Algidus was reported to be covered with oaks. (76) Oaks, in fact, grew within the boundaries of Rome itself. Ovid relates how, under the Aventine, a grove of holm-oaks flourished (Ovid *Fasti* 3: 295-296). Theophrastus declared that the country of the Latins was thickly wooded with oaks (Theophrastus *Enquiry into Plants* 5; 8: 3). Broad oak forests

(72) Plato, *Republic*, 2 vols., trans. P. Shorey (London: William Heinemann, 1946), II:241 (8.2)

(73) A. B. Cook, "Oak and Rock," *Classical Review* 15 (1901):326.

(74) Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, trans. R. Sheed (London: Sheed and Ward, 1958), pp. 270-271.

(75) Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, 13 vols., trans. B. O. Forester (London: William Heinemann, 1925), IV:30 (9.36.1).

(76) Horace, *Odes and Epodes*, trans. C. E. Bennett (London: William Heinemann, 1925), pp. 251, 299 (3.23.9-10 and 5.4.57-58).

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are also reported to have been growing in the region of Apulia (Horace *Odes* 2; 9:7 and 2; 22: 14), and even as far south as Sicily. (77) Here, then, one finds a necessary criterion for the maintenance and perpetuation of oak worship, that criterion being the existence of oak forests in any given area.

Sacred Oak Groves

The Romans, indeed, held many groves to be sacred, treating them with great respect and reverence, for they, like the Greeks, believed them to be tenanted by spirits. Ovid, upon describing a grove of oaks that grew near the Aventine Hill, declared: "There is a spirit here." (78) Pliny goes on record as saying: "Once . . . trees were the temples of deities (Pliny *Natural History* 12; 2: 3). Statius describes an ancient grove which was inhabited by a sacred numen.

> Nor do the shadows lack a divine power. Latonia's haunting presence is added to the grove; her effigies wrought in cedar and oak [translated from the Latin "cedrique et robur"] and wood of every tree are hidden in the hallowed gloom of the forest (Statius *Thebaid* 4: 425-427).

Ovid provides the best example which demonstrates the belief in spirit-tenanted groves. He describes how Erysichthon violated a sacred grove of Ceres, the Italic goddess of vegetation, and profaned the trees with an axe. He writes:

> There stood among these a mighty oak with strength matured by centuries of growth, itself a grove. Round about it hung . . . votive tablets and wreaths of flowers, witnesses of granted prayers, often beneath the tree dryads held their festival dances . . . . he [Erysichthon] bade his slaves cut down the sacred oak. . . . The oak of Deo [Ceres] trembled and gave forth a groan, at the same time its leaves and acorns grew pale . . . when that impious stroke cut into its trunk, blood came streaming forth. Then as he struck the oak blow after blow, from within the tree a voice was heard: "I, a nymph most dear to Ceres, dwell within this wood" (Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8: 743 passim).

(77) Diodorus Siculus, *The Library of History*, 12 vols., trans. C. H. Oldfather (London: William Heinemann, 1952), 3:83 (4.84.1).

(78) Ovid *Fasti* 3.295; cf. Ovid, "Amores," in *Heroides and Amores*, trans. G. Showerman (London: William Heinemann, 1958), p. 445 (3.1.1-2).

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Here, then, is a grove, sacred and dedicated to Ceres. In its midst stands an ancient and massive oak, also sacred and the abode of a nymph. This is the center of a worship embodied in prayer and the offering of votive tablets and wreaths of flowers. This offering of wreaths is an act of piety described by Tibullus in the following: "For Ibend in worship wherever flowery garlands lie on deserted tree stocks." (79) Beneath the boughs of this great oak, in the oak-*temenos*, the spirits of the grove are active. This oak, upon being attacked, showed visible signs of the life that dwelled within it. It trembled, groaned, paled and bled, but, above all, from its depth, speech issued forth, the voice of its coeval spirit. Trees demonstrating the power of speech were not unfamiliar to the Romans. They were aware of the oracle of Zeus at Dodona. Virgil makes a reference to the fact that the Greeks believed the oak tree to be oracular. (80)

Indeed, the groves and the forests were peopled with their complementary spirits. Pliny fills the woods with Silvani, fauns and "various kinds of goddesses" (Pliny *Natural History* 12; 2: 3), as does Martial, who particularly identifies the oak with the fauns. (81) Ovid, in addition, equates certain oak groves with Diana (Ovid *Heroides* 12: 67).

Again, as was the case with the Greeks, this subject matter often describes circumstances that are ancient even to the Romans. Hence one can find Virgil referring to a scene "awe inspiring with its groves and sanctity of olden days" (Virgil: Aeneid 7: 172). Pliny remarks that the beliefs in spirit-tenanted trees are primitive and are popular with his rustic contemporaries. He writes: ". . . and in conformity with primitive ritual simple country places even now dedicate a tree of exceptional height to a god" (Pliny *Natural History* 12; 2: 3). Here is a good example of primitive practices being maintained, particularly among the more conservative rural elements, well into the more sophisticated times of Pliny.

(79) Tibullus, "Corpus Tibullianum," in *Catullus, Tibullus and Pervigilium Veneris*, trans. J. P. Postgate (London: William Heinemann, 1928), p. 193 (1.1.11-12).

(80) Virgil, "Georgics," in *Eclogues and Georgics*, trans. H. R. Fairclough (London: William Heinemann, 1930), p. 117 (11.16).

(81) Martial, *Epigrams*, 2 vols., trans. W. C. A. Ker (London: William Heinemann, 1961), II:225 (10.92.4).

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Violation of the Sacred Grove

In reference to the attack on the sacred grove of Ceres by Erysichthon, described above, is the idea that such a grove, being a holy place, can be violated and profaned. All such groves demanded a respect which is expressed in this passage:

> The following is the Roman formula to be observed in thinning a grove: A pig is to be sacrificed, and the following prayer uttered: "Whether thou be god or goddess to whom this grove is dedicated, as it is thy right to receive a sacrifice of a pig for the thinning of this sacred grove." (82)

This passage is not found in a collection of fables or myths; on the contrary, it is included in a practical manual on farming. Consequently, this is indicative of the very gravity and seriousness by which these sacred groves and trees were treated. Cato points out that the offering of a sacrifice is not just a mere gesture of placation on the part of the individual's conscience; it is the right of the deity.

Included by Fronto in his correspondence is a statement that intensifies the above. He states: "Many laws have fixed a penalty for cutting down happy trees." (83) Here the Roman people passed legislation to ensure the protection of these groves, the violation of which could bring punishment, certainly civil, and perhaps divine. Fronto uses a peculiar expression in "happy trees," and in order to shed some light on this subject, one must look to Macrobius for a possible interpretation. He writes: "For Veranius in his treatise *On the Formulas of the Pontiffs* says: 'The oak, the winter oak . . . are held to be trees of good omen." (84) Perhaps these trees of good omen are synonymous with "happy trees."

Porphyry takes a more philosophical stance on this issue of protecting trees, stating:

> For, indeed, what greater injury does he do, who cuts the throat of an ox or a sheep, than he who cuts down a fir or an oak? Since from the doctrine of transmigration,

(82) Cato, "De Agricultura," in *Cato and Varro: De Re Rustica*, trans. W. D. Hooper and H. B. Ash (London: William Heinemann, 1960), p. 121 (139).

(83) Fronto, "Correspondence to Arrius Antonius," in *Correspondence*, 2 vols., trans. C. R. Haines (London: William Heinemann, 1920), II:181 (2.7.6).

(84) Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, trans, P. V. Davies (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), p. 251 (3.20.2).

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a soul is also implanted in these. (85)

This is a remarkable statement, for the trees are now placed on a sentient plane, equal at least with an animal, and certainly now possessing an animate soul.

To provide one more cogent example of Roman regard for trees, especially the oak, it is necessary to visit the camp of the Aequian commander, Cloelius Gracchus, who has broken a peace treaty with Rome, and has subsequently invaded Latium. As a result of this breach, a delegation of three Roman envoys calls upon Gracchus to demand justice in accordance with the treaty. Livy relates the following:

> The Aequian general bade them recite the message of the Roman senate to the oak, saying that he would meantime attend to other matters. The oak, a mighty tree, overhung headquarters. . . . Thereupon, one of the envoys said, as he departed, "Let both this sacred oak and whatever gods there are hear that the treaty has been broken by you; and let them attend now to our complaints and presently support our arms, when we shall avenge the simultaneous violation of the rights of gods and men" (Livy *Ab Urbe Condita* 3.25.9 passim).

Here, then, is an instance where an oak is prayed to, and is somewhat reminiscent of the time when Aeacus beseeched Zeus, in front of an oak, to grant his wishes for an increase in population. H. W. Parke has an interesting interpretation of this instance. He holds that the Aequian commander, who contemptuously told the Roman envoys to tell their tale to the oak, was in effect challenging them to invoke this god whose presence in the tree was presupposed, and at once the Roman knew and recognized the special place the oak held. (86)

Jupiter and the Oak

Indeed, the oak did hold a special place; it was the sacred tree of Jupiter. This fact is stressed repeatedly by Latin authors. One particular fable written by Phaedrus begins: "Once long ago the gods chose trees which they would have each under his

(85) Porphyry *De Abstinentia*, trans. T. Taylor (London: Centaur Press, 1965), p. 24 (1.6).

(86) H. W. Parke, *Oracles of Zeus* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 22.

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own patronage. Jupiter decided for the oak." (87) Claudian refers to the oak as *quercus amica Jovi*. (88) Columella, quoting Virgil's *Georgics*, refers to this tree as "Jove's great oak.". (89) Virgil, in turn, remarks that the *aesculus* oak ". . . spreads its shade for Jove" (Virgil *Georgics* 2: 15). Pliny joins the chorus and adds: "The different kinds of trees are kept perpetually dedicated to their own divinities, for instance, the winter-oak to Jove" (Pliny *Natural History* 12; 2: 3). The reasons for the association of Jupiter and the oak will be discussed in detail in a subsequent chapter.

The Oak and the Acorn

In Roman literature the acorn appears quite frequently as an important source of food for man. It would be somewhat redundant to include all the references to the acorn; hence only a brief survey will follow. The practice of eating acorns was considered by the Romans to be an ancient custom, one which preceded the development of agriculture. Juvenal amusingly refers to its antiquity by describing the men of the age of Saturn as "acorn-belching." (90)

That the oak was regarded as sacred may in part be due to the fact that it provided an important source of food for primitive man. The edification of the oak was no doubt crystalized in pre-agricultural days; however, once its sanctity had been established, its reverence continued well into agricultural times. This is due, presumably, to conservative religious elements and partly to the fact that the acorn was still used in the agricultural period. Pliny reports that when corn was scarce the acorn was ground into flour in order to make bread (Pliny *Natural History* 16; 6: 15).

The gods were believed to be responsible for instructing man

(87) Phaedrus, *Fables*, trans. B. E. Perry (London: William Heinemann, 1965), p. 287 (3.17.1-3).

(88) Claudian, *De Raptu Proserpina*, 2 vols., trans. M. Platnauer (London: William Heinemann, 1963), II:326 (2.108).

(89) Columella, *De Re Rustica*, 3 vols., trans. E. S. Forester (London: William Heinemann, 1954), II:235 (7.3.23); cf. Virgil *Georgics* 3.332.

(90) Juvenal, "Satires," in *Juvenal and Persius*, trans. G. G. Ramsay (London: William Heinemann, 1928), p. 85 (6.10); cf. Juvenal *Satires* 14.181-185; Tibullus *Corpus Tibullianum* 2.3.68-70; Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, trans. W. H. D. Rouse (London: William Heinemann, 1928), p. 407 (5.939); Claudian *De Raptu Proserpina* 3.46-47 and 1.30-31; Ovid *Fasti* 1.675-676; and Lucan, *Pharsalia*, trans. J. D. Duff (London: William Heinemann, 1969), p. 335 (6.426-427).

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in the value of the acorn. Tibullus writes: "I sing the country and the country's gods. They were the guides when man first ceased to chase hunger with the acorns from the oak" (Tibullus *Corpus Tibullianum* 2; 1: 37). Juvenal, too, credits "the rustic gods" with being the ones who taught man to eat the acorn (Juvenal *Satires* 14: 181-185). Porphyry, in turn, relates how men used to burn the leaves of the oak tree as a sacrifice to the gods (Porphyry *De Abstinentia* 2: 5). No doubt, this was a gesture of thanks to those gods responsible for demonstrating the value of the acorn.

Indeed, the fruit of the oak was valuable, for Pliny relates: "Acorns at this day constitute the wealth of many races" (Pliny *Natural History* 16; 6: 15). This is especially true, considering that a well-developed oak is capable of producing as much as one thousand litres of acorns annually. (91) The Twelve Tables of Roman Law provided legislation allowing for the gathering up of acorns falling on to one's land from a tree belonging to another person: an indication that the acorn was worth legislative concern. (92)

Sons of the Oak

As was seen in the discussion concerning the Greeks, the Arcadians believed that they were the sons of the oak. Plutarch also makes this reference, believing them to have "a certain kinship with the oak." (93) This belief, he adds, was based on the following parallel: "For they are thought to have been the first men sprung from the earth, even as the oak was the first plant" (Plutarch *Roman Questions* 92). Plutarch may have borrowed this idea of the oak being the first plant from Strabo, who describes it as "the earliest plant created." (94)

Juvenal refers to a time in remote antiquity when men were "born of the riven oak" (Juvenal *Satires* 6: 12). Virgil also

(91) J. Renfrew, *Paleoethnobotany* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), p. 155.

(92) Pliny *Natural History* 16.6.16; cf. N. Lewis and M. Reinhold, ed., "Source-book I: The Republic," in *Roman Civilization*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), p. 106. (Pliny specifically mentions acorns, whereas Table VII in *Roman Civilization* mentions simply fruit.)

(93) Plutarch, "Roman Questions," in *Moralia*, 15 vols., trans. F. C. Babbitt (London: William Heinemann, 1957), 4:139 (92).

(94) Strabo, *Geography*, 8 vols., trans. H. L. Jones (London: William Heinemann, 1961), 3:323 (Bk. 7; Fragment 1c).

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records "a race of men sprung from the trunks of trees and hardy oaks" (Virgil *Aeneid* 8: 315). Indeed, that human life was so intimately connected with the oak is evident from the following passage in Suetonius:

> On the suburban estate of the Flavii an old oak tree which was sacred to Mars on each of the three occasions when Vespasia was delivered suddenly put forth a branch from its trunk, obvious indications of the destiny of each child. The first was slender and quickly withered, and so too the girl that was born died within a year. (95)

Oak-Associated Burials

At the turn of the century, the noted Italian archaeologist, G. Boni, excavated a prehistoric cemetery, above which lies the *Forum Romanum* in Rome. During his work on this ancient necropolis, he discovered several rudely hollowed trunks of oak which served as coffins, in which human corpses had been deposited.(96) This event, associating the oak tree with burial practices, must not be underestimated, for it is not a singular event. On the contrary, the repetition of this association leads one to conclude that such a connection has some sort of ritual or religious significance.

It has been mentioned above that the area beneath the oak was regarded as a sacred *temenos*. Similarly, because this area was held to be sacred, it served as an excellent burial place. It was under a *quercus ilex* that "a mound of earth, the mighty tomb of Dercennus, the Laurentine king of old" was found (Virgil *Aeneid* 11.850-851). Theophrastus, too, reports a similar occurrence, for over the tomb of Ilos at Ilium stood Valonia oaks (Theophrastus *Enquiry into Plants* 4; # 13:# 2; cf. Pliny *Natural History* 16.88.238). Were not the funerary circumstances concerning the death of Hercules also associated with the oak?

The *Aeneid* contains further evidence to support the above conclusion. In this instance the burial mound of Mezentius is located beneath an oak, but here the oak has been stripped of its limbs and fashioned as a trophy upon which is hung the

(95) Suetonius "Vespasian," in *Lives of the Caesars*, 2 vols., trans. J. C. Rolfe (London: William Heinemann, 1930), II:291 (8.5.2).

(96) P. MacKendrick, *The Mute Stones Speak* (New York: New American Library, 1966), p. 75.

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spoils of battle. At this point, Virgil places a rather interesting phrase into the mouth of Aeneas. He declares: "Here is Mezentius, made of my hands" (Virgil *Aeneid* 9: # 15-16). Aeneas is, of course, referring to the oaken trophy which he has just fashioned. Denuded of its limbs, it is regarded as an effigy of the dead king. No doubt, it was considered to house the spirit of this dead monarch. This may provide a clue as to the planting of oak trees over the graves of the deceased. The roots of the oak probably provided a means of descent to the underworld for the spirit of the dead. This idea does not seem too fanciful when viewed in the light of two separate remarks made by Virgil concerning the oak's roots. He writes: " . . . but deeper and far within the earth is sunk the supporting tree, above all the great oak, which strikes its roots down towards the nether pit" (Virgil *Georgics* 2: # 291-292). This can be compared to: ". . . so far it [the oak] strikes its roots down towards Tartarus" (Virgil *Aeneid* 4: # 443-444).

The preceding three sections of this chapter serve to demonstrate the importance that the oak played in the life cycle of the individual: as his primogenitor it was associated with his birth; the oak-associated burial was connected with the other end of the spectrum, his death; and the acorn provided sustenance to support his life.

The Oaken Trophy

In the description of the tomb of Mezentius above the fashioning of an oaken trophy is mentioned. This also is not an isolated event. Cook poetically translates from the Aeneid the following description of an oaken trophy:

Now poising long his lance in air,
To Tiber Pallas made his prayer:
"Grant, Tiber sire, the spear I throw
Through strong Halaesus' breast may go:
The spoils and armor of the foe
Shall deck thy sacred oak." (97)

Claudian also makes mention of "an oak stump adorned with spoils."(98) Valerius Flaccus has his own variation. His

(97) Virgil, *Aeneid*, quoted in A. B. Cook, "The European Sky-God," *Folklore Quarterly* 15 (September 1904): 383 (10.585-588).

(98) Claudian, "Against Rufinus I," in *Claudian*, 2 vols., trans. M. Platnauer (London: William Heinemann), I:51 (1.339).

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trophy is an oak tree stripped of its foliage as before, but now it is carved to the likeness of the warrior (Valerius Flaccus *Argonautica* 3: # 444-445). Probably this was the case in the oaken effigy of Mezentius made by Aeneas. The erection of these trophies may have been a display of the inherent bravery of the victor, but it seems more likely that they were initiated as a means of thanks to the gods for victory in battle. This would certainly be the case in the erection of an oaken trophy by Romulus. Plutarch writes:

> After considering how he might perform his vow in a manner most acceptable to Jupiter . . . [Romulus] cut down a monstrous oak that grew in the camp, hewed it into the shape of a trophy . . . . The trophy was styled a dedication to Jupiter Feretrius.(99)

Here the erection of the trophy is performed as a means of showing thanks to Jupiter Feretrius for the granting of prayer, and as a means of settling a vow. This would certainly parallel the vow made by Pallas, for if Tiber would guide his lance into the side of Halaesus, he, in return, would deck a sacred oak with the spoils of war.

The Oaken Wreath

The relationship between victory and the oak does not stop with the oaken trophy, for Ovid maintains that at the Pythian games every competitor who had been victorious received the honor of an oaken garland (Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.449). The tradition of wearing an oaken wreath seems to have been an old one, and was practiced by the Greeks. It seems that the Greeks used to wear oak-leaf wreaths during certain ritual observances (Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* .1.1124).

The custom of wearing wreaths of oak leaves seems to have been widespread among Romans. Domitian is said to have founded a quinquennial contest in honor of Jupiter Capitolinus, the prize being a gold oak-leaf crown. (100) Martial frequently mentions the practice of displaying the oak-wreath (Martial *Epigrams* 4; 1: 6-4; 54: 1-9; 3:8).

The most famous oaken chaplet was the civic crown. Aulus

(99) Plutarch, "Romulus," in *Parallel Lives*, trans. F. C. Babbitt (London: William Heinemann, 1936), p. 137 (2.16.5).

(100) Martial, *Epigrams*, 2 vols., trans. W. Ker (London: William Heinemann, 1961), I:231 (Translator's note).

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Gellius reports that it was granted only to one who had saved the life of another in battle. He relates how it is only made of the leaves of the esculent oak, "because the earliest food and means of supporting life were furnished by that oak." (101)

Plutarch also discusses the civic crown, but in his description one is able to discern a particular need to explain the reasons behind the use of the oak-leaf chaplets.

> Either because the oak was held in special honor for the sake of the Arcadians [Arcadians were believed to be early settlers of Rome, that is, Evander and company], or they could speedily find an abundance of oak wherever they fought; or that the garland of oak leaves, being sacred to Jupiter, the city's guardian, was fittingly bestowed upon one who saved the life of a citizen . . . . Its acorns used to be food (Plutarch *Parallel Lives: Coriolanus* 3.3).

Plutarch again recounts these same reasons in *The Roman Questions*, but here the chaplet of oak is sacred to both Jupiter and Juno, as guardians of Rome (Plutarch *Moralia: The Roman Questions* 92). Pliny states that the civic crowns are nearly all made from acorn-bearing oak, the first time being made from holm-oak (Pliny *Natural History* 16.4.11; cf. Aulus Gellius *Attic Nights* 6.12). He recounts that later the winter oak, sacred to Jupiter, and the common oak were used.

Augustus was among those to receive the honor of the civic crown (Martial *Epigrams* 8.82.7; cf. Ovid *Fasti* 1.14; and Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.563). His was granted *in perpetuum*. Ovid in a piece of sycophantic propaganda purposely mistakes the palace of Augustus with the abode of Jupiter in the following: "Is this also Jupiter's abode . . . for such thought of an oaken wreath gave to my mind the augury."(102) This analogy he could appropriately use, since the oak-Jupiter relationship was so apparent and firmly fixed. The following epigraphic evidence is provided as an example.

IOVIS VICTOR ARGENTEUS IN KAPITOLIO
HABENS IN CAPITE CORONAM

(101) Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights*, 3 vols., trans. J. C. Rolfe (London: William Heinemann, 1927), I:393 (5.6.11-12).

(102) Ovid, *Tristia*, trans. A. L. Wheeler (London: William Heinemann, 1959), pp. 103-105 (3.35-36).

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ARGENTEAM QUERQUEAM FOLIOP (103)

It is the opinion of this work that the wearing of the oak-leaf chaplet was initially carried out for religious reasons. Virgil honors the goddess Ceres with the wearing of an oak wreath (Virgil *Georgics* 1.349). In addition, it is reported that emperor Nero made an offering of an oak crown in the temple at Olympia (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 5.12.8). Plutarch specifically mentions that the oak crowns are sacred to Jupiter (Plutarch *Parallel Lives: Coriolanus* 3.3). It is Pliny that provides the most valuable information, stating that in antiquity the civic wreath was only presented to a deity, and only later, as if going through a process of secularization, did it become an emblem of military valor, and lastly an emblem of the emperor's clemency (Pliny *Natural History*, 16.3.7, 16.4.9 passim).

The Oak and Fire

It seems as though the association of the oak with sacred fires may have had some ritual significance. G. Boni, the prominent Italian archaeologist, turned up some very interesting data on the eternal fire of the vestal virgins. Its ashes were analyzed, and were, without any doubt, the ashes of the oak.(104) Theophrastus noted that when the wood of the oak is burned it makes excellent charcoal (Theophrastus *Enquiry into Plants* 5.9.1). Pliny reports that charcoal was an important element in religious rites, because it was used in the course of sacrifice (Pliny *Natural History* 16.8.24). This charcoal was presumably used on a sacrificial altar fire. Whether the oak was chosen solely because it produced good charcoal, or whether it was chosen for the sacrificial fires because it was considered to be a particularly holy tree is open to question. Still it may have been a combination of the two, each complementing the other.

One particular theory, advanced by E. W. Voegelin, explains the reasons behind the association of the oak with sacred fires. He proposed that the oak "belonged" to Zeus, and the myth concerning Prometheus indicates that Zeus was also the possessor of the first fire. Hence the link between the oak and fire

(103) A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, 3 vols., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940), I:45. (Translation: The silver statue of Jupiter Victor in the Capitol has on its head a crown of silver oak leaves.)

(104) See J. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 13 vols., 3rd ed. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1955), II:186; and A. B. Cook, "Zeus, Jupiter amd the Oak," *Classical Review* 18 (1904): 366.

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is through Zeus.(105) Other sacred oak fires will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

The Urbs

Sir Arthur Evans states that: "At Rome itself nothing was more complete than the primitive conceptions of tree forms." (106) This is especially true of the oak tree. Many references, some of which have already been discussed, specifically mention the oak in association with the city of Rome. The veneration of the oak in Rome was a particularly ancient phenomenon. Pliny testifies to this in the following description of an oak that was "older than the city." It was said to have grown on the Vatican Hill, and on its trunk was a bronze plaque with an inscription "written in Etruscan characters, indicating that even in those days the tree was deemed venerable" (Pliny *Natural History* 16.87.237).

Concerning Rome, Tacitus mentions that Mount Caelius was anciently known as *Querquetulanus*, because it grew oak timber in abundance.(107) This statement is important when taken in conjunction with the *Notitia Regionum*. The section of the *Notitia Regionum* which describes district II states: "Caelimontium contains a sacred tree." (108) One cannot help but conclude that this tree was a sacred oak.(109)

Oak Veneration Among the Celtics and Gothonic Peoples

Celtic Oak-Worship

It has been suggested that an Italo-Celtic entity existed in the far west of the Indo-European area. This Italo-Celtic entity did not split into two separate groups until about 2000±500 B.C. (110) This estimate coincides with the calculation for the

(105) *Funk and Wagnall's Folklore Dictiionary*, 1972 ed., s.v. "fire."

(106) A. Evans, "Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cults," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 19 (1901):128.

(107) Tacitus, "Annals," in *Complete Works of Tacitus*, trans. A. J. Church and W. J. Brodribb (New York: Random House, 1942), p. 182 (4.65).

(108) Lewis and Reinhold, "Sourcebook II: The Empire," in *Roman Civilization*, II:488.

(109) Cook, "Zeus, Jupiter and the Oak," *Classical Review*, p. 361.

(110) See W. Cowgill, "Italic and Celtic Superlatives and the Dialects of Indo-European," in *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans*, ed. G. Cardona, H. Hoenigswald and A. Senn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1970), p. 144; and A. Meillet, *Indo-European Dialects*, trans. S. N. Rosenberg, Alabama Linguistics and Philological Series, no. 15 (University: University of Alabama Press, 1967), p. 51.

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movement of the Proto-Celts into Western Europe at 1500 B.C. expounded by Jean-Jacques Hatt.(111) J. G. Frazer in his monumental *Golden Bough* makes a reference to this Italo-Celtic entity in the following:

> When we remember that the ancient Italian and Celtic peoples spoke languages which are nearly related to each other, we shall not be surprised at discovering traces of community in their religion. (112)

If Frazer is correct, then the Celtic sphere, like its Italic counterpart, should render some evidence to confirm the veneration of the oak amongst its peoples.

The Acorn

Professor Anwyl's work on Celtic religion declares that the Celts revered the oak, because in times of need its fruit served as food.(113) This is noticeably similar to the situation in Greece and Rome. An anonymous Irish poet, writing in the tenth century A.D., twice mentions the acorn in his poem *The Hermit's Hut* as a source of food.(114)

Similarly, another Irish poem, written in the eleventh century A.D., chooses autumn as the correct time to gather up "sweet acorns" for food.(115) In the epic poem *The Pursuit of Diarmuid and Graunia*, described as pointing to the mythopoeic period of Aryan culture, is a passage which reads:

> Love is a storm shaking the grey-ribbed oak,
> Scattering its hoarded acorns,
> Scattering its wealth.(116)

Here again is a characteristic reference to the acorn as being a source of wealth — indeed, reminiscent of the description used by Pliny (*Natural History* 16.6.15).

(111) Jean-Jacques Hatt, *Celts and Gallo-Romans*, trans. J. Hogarth (Genevea: Nagel Publishers, 1970), p. 63.

(112) J. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 13 vols. 3rd ed. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1955), II:188-189.

(113) Edward Anwyl, *Celtic Religion* (London: Archibald Constable & Co., 1906), p. 32.

(114) "The Hermit's Hut," in *Celtic Miscellany*, trans. K. H. Jackson (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), p. 72.

(115) "Poem of the Four Seasons," in *Celtic Miscellany*, p. 69.

(116) J. R. Anderson, ed., *The Pursuit of Diarmuid and Graunia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), p. 68.

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Oak As Progenitor

The insular Celts, like their Greek and Latin cousins, have a tradition that believes that human-kind was capable of being born from elements of the oak. In this instance the subject is a woman. The story is told in an eleventh century A.D. Welsh work entitled *The Creation of Blodeuwedd*. It reads:

> And then they took the flowers of oak trees, and the flowers of the broom, and the flowers of the meadow-sweet, and out of these they created the fairest and most shapely girl.(117)

The Oak: An Instrument of Divination

The poem *Merlin the Diviner* in its extant form is a somewhat Christianized version of an ancient Cornish work. One particular part of the poem reads as follows:

> Merlin! Merlin! where art thou going . . .
> I am going to seek in the valley
> The green water-cress, and the golden grass,
> And the top branch of the oak . . .
>
> Merlin! Merlin! retrace your steps
> Leave the branch of the oak
> Merlin! Merlin! retrace your steps
> There is no diviner but God.(118)

What is important here is the allusion made by the writer that Merlin, taken as a representative of all magicians, planned to use "the top branch of the oak" as an instrument of divination. Divination is usually a means of determining future events or the will of certain gods. So, if the branch of the oak was used as the implement of divination, then the god whose will was to be sought would more than likely be a god to whom the oak is sacred. This would follow George Foster's remark that both the indicator (the oak branch) and the event are in some form of logical harmony.(119) If the example of the Greeks and Romans could be used it would be a god on par with Zeus or Jupiter, to whom the oak is particularly sacred.

(117) "The Creation of Blodeuwedd," in *Celtic Miscellany*, p. 164.
(118) "Merlin the Diviner," in *Lyra Celtica*, E. A. Sharp and J. Matthay, ed. (New York: Haskell House, 1970), p. 46.
(119) *Funk and Wagnall's Dictionary of Folklore*, 1972 ed., s.v. "divination," by George M. Foster.

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A Celtic Zeus

Perhaps one of the more positive sources to demonstrate the existence of oak veneration among the Celts is to be found in Maximus of Tyre. He makes a very interesting statement in the following: "The Celts worship Zeus, and the Celtic image of Zeus is a lofty oak." (120) The importance of this statement is twofold. First, it indicates that the Celts worshipped a god on par with the Greek Zeus. This would be a god possessing a sufficient amount of Zeus-like qualities and traits to warrant an identification with his Grecian counterpart. This process of identification based on such similarities has been labelled *interpretatio Romana* or *Graeca*. In fact, Jupiter was equated with some twenty-five native Celtic gods.(121) Secondly, the statement reveals that the image of this Celtic Zeus was an oak tree. One can only assume that the oak, as the symbol of this Celtic Zeus, was an integral of the "worship" described by Maximus.

Anne Ross noted that the oak was held to be sacred by the Celts, and that consequently an image cut from this wood would be imbued with special significance. (122) She goes on to describe a noteworthy series of carved wooden figures, recently discovered at the sanctuary of Sequana, located at the source of the River Seine. The figures were all carved from the heart-wood of oak. (123) Also, a male anthropomorphic image made of oak has been discovered in Devon, England, and a Celtic idol carved from the heart-wood of the oak has been found in County Tipperary, Ireland.(124) Hence the custom of using an oaken image to represent the Celtic Zeus, as described by Maximus, may have some credence. That oaken idols have been found in France, England, and Ireland may well indicate that this custom was practiced by both insular and continental Celts.

(120) Maximus of Tyre, "Dissertations," quoted in A. B. Cook, "European Sky-God," *Folklore Quarterly* 17 (1906): 53 (8.8).

(121) John Noss, *Man's Religions* (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1963), p. 108.

(122) Anne Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967), p. 366.

(123) Anne Ross, *Everyday Life of the Pagan Celts* (London: Batsford, 1970), p. 147.

(124) See Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain*, p. 35; and Ross, *Everyday Life of the Pagan Celts*, pp. 185-186.

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The Oak As a Basic Element

One particular work written in the tongue of the ancient Bretons, entitled *The Dance of the Sword*, is particularly interesting. Its refrain repetitively states:

Fire! Fire! Steel, oh! Steel!
Fire! Fire! Steel, and fire!
Oak, Oak, earth and waves!
Waves, oak, earth and oak!(125)

Granted, these are an unusual collection of words, but it is believed here that each of these has a special significance. These words are not random choices; they represented to the Celts what they believed to be the basic elements of the physical world. Earth, fire and water, listed in the above chorus, are stated in *De Rerum Natura* to have once been considered among the basic elements of the earth (Lucretius *De Rerum Natura* 1.635-638, 1.75). The ancient Chinese considered the five basic elements to be metal, wood, water, fire and earth. (126) Interestingly enough, this duplicates the poem exactly, at least as far as the "elements" are concerned. Perhaps, then, the Celts did believe these articles to represent the main elements, and if this conclusion is correct, then the oak would hold a very significant place as one of the special substances that go to make up the physical world.

Oak Burials

The Celtic world also is not without its representative oak-oriented burials. One particular poem refers to the death of a stately lord, who is followed soon after by the death of his wife. They are subsequently buried together, and the poem continues:

Next morn from the grave two oak trees fair,
Shot lusty boughs high in air.(127)

Here each soul appears to manifest itself in its own oak tree.

Archaeology also supports this oak-burial nexus. The oak was selected for the wooden mortuary houses of the Hallstatt and La Tène burials.(128) Marija Gimbutas notes that in eastern Hungary many barrows with shaft graves and wooden structures

(125) "The Dance of the Sword," in *Lyra Celtica*, p. 53.
(126) Noss, *Man's Religions*, p. 331.
(127) "The Lord Nan and the Fairy," in *Lyra Celtica*, p. 57.
(128) Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain*, p. 33.

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of oak, containing skeletons, are to be found.(129) A similar oak burial was unearthed at Gristhorpe in England in 1834. The corpse was buried in a coffin that had been constructed out of a hollowed trunk of oak, but what is more fascinating is the fact that in addition to the oaken coffin, the connection between oak and burial was further emphasized by the deliberate draping of oaken boughs over the remains of the deceased.(130)

William Camden's *Britannia* relates a very interesting story regarding the burial of the famed King Arthur. He described how Henry the Second ordered a search to be made for the body of King Arthur, after he had learned that it was buried in Glastonbury. The grave was finally found and the body exhumed. Nine feet down a coffin constructed from a hollowed oak trunk, which contained skeletal remains, was discovered.(131)

The catalogue of the National Museum of Wales bears out the tradition of oak coffin burials. Two entries in this catelogue reveal a "fragmentary dug-out oak, resembling a canoe," but canoes they are not, for they contain the remains of cremated human bones.(132) These oaken coffins are strikingly similar to those found in the necropolis in Rome, and may suggest some type of cultural continuity.

Anne Ross describes quite an impressive burial of a Celtic queen or princess; the rich assortment of grave goods implies that this princess had maintained a prominent position while alive. This burial has been dated to the fourth century B.C., and was unearthed at Reinheim near Saarbrucken in 1954. What is important to this discussion is the corpse and its accompanying grave goods were entombed in a burial chamber which was constructed of oak.(133) Here, then, is further evidence

(129) M. Gimbutas, "Proto-Indo-European Culture," in *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans*, ed. G. Cardona, H. Hoenigswald and A. Senn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970), p. 179.

(130) See T. D. Kendrick, *The Druids* (London: F. Cass & Co., 1927), reprint, 1966), p. 200; Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain*, p. 33; and Cook, "European Sky-God," *Folklore Quarterly* 17 (1906): 321.

(131) William Camden, *Britannia: A Facsimile of the 1695 Publication by Edmund Gibson* (Newton Abbott: David & Charles, 1971), p. 64.

(132) W. F. Grimes, *The Prehistory of Wales* (Cardiff: National Museum of Wales, 1951), p. 205.

(133) Ross, *Everyday Life of the Pagan Celts*, p. 179.

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to support the oak-burial nexus. In summary, the oak-burial connection manifests itself in a number of various ways. They are listed as follows:

1. An oaken trophy is placed over the burial mound of the deceased. This may be worked to an anthropomorphic form, or may be left unwrought.
2. Oak trees are deliberately planted on the grave, or spring up spontaneously as if a manifestation of the spirit.
3. The coffin is constructed of oak-wood.
4. Oak boughs are deliberately draped over the corpse.
5. Crypt-like constructions are made of oak-wood.
6. Oak wood is mentioned as having been specifically requested for the construction of funeral pyres.

This association of the oak tree with funerary practices is remarkable in that it is common to the three Indo-European stocks that have so far been discussed. Demand for cremation on a sacred oak-fire will be seen among the Balts also.

The Druids and the Oak

Perhaps the most debatable issue concerning the Celtic sphere is the role of the Druids in the worship of the oak. Before presenting any evidence that might indicate a Druidic involvement with the oak, a brief description into the nature of the Druids would be appropriate.

MacCana describes the Druids as one of the three Celtic highly organized professional classes who were concerned with the cultivation of literature, learning, and religion. MacCana labels them the "conservators of tradition."(134) Of these three professional classes, the bards, *vates* and Druids,(135) the Druids had the highest social status and subsequently wielded the most power.(136)

The Druidic class has been described as a priesthood; it is that and much more. The Druids were not only concerned with theology and philosophy; their sphere encompassed calendrics,

(134) P. MacCana, *Celtic Myhtology* (London: Hamlyn Ltd., 1973), p. 16.

(135) Stabo *Geography* 4.4.4; cf. Diodorus Siculus, *The Histories*, 12 vols., trans. C. H. Oldfather (London: William Heinemann, 1952), III:179 (5.31); and Ammianus Marcellinus, *The Histories*, 3 vols., trans. J. C. Rolfe (London: William Heinemann, 1950), I:179 (15.9).

(136) Dio Chrysostom, *Discourses*, 5 vols., trans. J. W. Cohoon and H. L. Crosby (London: William Heinemann, 1956), V:301 (49.8).

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law, and astronomy. As the "conservators of tradition," they held the important position of teacher, and thus had the obligation of passing on their knowledge and lore to future generations. (137)

The most positive proof connecting the Druids with the oak is to be found in the writings of Pliny. Due to its importance, it is worth quoting in full.

> The Druids — that is what they [the Celts] call their magicians — hold nothing more sacred than mistletoe and a tree on which it is growing, provided it is a hard-oak. Groves of hard-oaks are chosen even for their own sake, and the magicians perform no rites without using the foliage of those trees, so that it may be supposed that it is from this custom that they get their name of Druids, from the Greek word meaning "oak;" but further, anything growing on oak trees they think to have been sent from heaven, and to be a sign that the particular tree has been chosen by god himself (Pliny *Natural History* 16.95.249-250).

Pliny states that groves of oak were chosen for their own sake by the Druids. This is interpreted as a statement to the fact that the Druids recognized the sacredness of the oak, and consequently chose such groves on the grounds that this tree was a hallowed object. Tacitus mentions Druidic groves on the island of Mona, which were subsequently destroyed by the Roman general, Suetonius Paulinus (Tacitus *Annals* 14.30). Pomponius Mela also connects the Druids with "sequestered groves" (Pomponius Mela *De Situ Orbis* 3.2.18). Although Tacitus and Pomponius Mela do not specifically state that such groves were of oak, one might conclude so, since the Druids are said to have chosen groves of hard-oak.

The Druid Etymology

At the same time, Pliny similarly states that the word "Druid" originated from the Greek word for "oak" (*drus*). The reason behind this etymology, he suggests, stems from the fact that the Druids used oak foliage in all their rites. In other words, the ever-present oak branch became emblematic of this

(137) See Caesar *Gallic Wars* 6.13-14; and Pomponius Mela, "De Situ Orbis," quoted in T. D. Kendrick, *The Druids*, p. 87 (3.2.18).

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priestly order, and this obvious association gave rise to their name. (138)

Recent times have seen the rejection of the Pliny etymology. J. Rhys believes that had Pliny had sufficient knowledge of the Celtic language, he would have discovered it needless to have recourse to the Greek tongue, for the native word *dru*, contained in Drunemeton, was the root word.(139) He is obviously referring to a passage in Strabo which states that the twelve tetrachs of the council of the Galatians assembled at Drunemeton (Strabo *Geography* 12.5.1). Drunemeton has since been translated as "oak sanctuary."(140) Drunemeton is located in Asia Minor, a site located in the Celtic state of Galatia which was founded when the Celts crossed the Hellespont in 178 B.C.(141)

It is believed here that such arguments as to whether the etymological base of the word "Druid" is Greek or Celtic are unnecessary, since both the Greek and the Celtic roots for "oak" are reflexes of the same Proto-Indo-European morpheme, namely **dorw*. This notion was recognized as early as 1855, when Professor Mackinnon stated that "Druid" is derived from a root word that gives both *drus* in Greek and *darach* in Gaelic the meaning of "oak."(142) In a more recent work, Paul Friedrich concludes that the primary denotation of the **dorw* reflex in Proto-Celtic was probably "oak." He states that this reflex is preserved in the Old Irish *derucc* "acorn," the old Irish *daur* "oak," the Cornish *dar* "oak," and the Middle Welsh *derwen* "oak." He sums up the situation by stating: "These inferences about denotation are congruous with the patterns of the Druidic cult; the Druids . . . are known to have . . . worshipped the oak as part of an oak cult."(143) Stuart Piggott, writing on the oak-etymology, aptly concludes:

(138) Diodorus Siculus *Histories* 5.31.3. In certain MSS Saronidas appears in place of "Druid." *Saronidas* is another Greek word meaning "oak." Cf. Camden, *Britannia*, p. xv.

(139) L. Spence, *History and Origins of Druidism* (London: Aquarian Press, 1971), p. 14.

(140) See MacCana, *Celtic Mythology*, p. 16; Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain*, p. 36; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, II:363; and Nora Chadwick, *The Druids* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1966), p. 13.

(141) *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Galatia," by W. M. Calder.

(142) Spence, *History and Origins of Druidism*, p. 14.

(143) P. Friedrich, *Proto-Indo-European Trees* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 144.

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> Relationships with such a tree-word [Druid] would be appropriate enough to a religion with sanctuaries in the deciduous mixed-oak forests of temperate Europe.(144)

Saint.Columba and the Oak

The Irish monk, Saint Columba, sometimes referred to as Saint Columcille, is an intriguing figure, in that though he had been Christianized, he still held a traditional pagan Celtic regard for the oak. Columba was of royal blood, and his cousin, the Prince of Aileach, offered him a site on which to build a monastery. The site was the island of Derry, covered with a splendid forest of oaks which, it is said, gave the place its name, (145) that is, Derry means "oak grove" and is presumably cognate with the **dorw* morpheme.

Columba held the oaks on Derry in such high regard that he refused to build the church chancel eastward, because its construction would result in the destruction of some oak trees. His Celtic regard for the oak is manifested in the fact that he laid injunctions upon all his successors to spare the grove of oaks.(146) After leaving Derry, Columba lived on the island of Iona, and in reflection, he wrote the following passage:

> The reason why I love Derry is for its quietness, for its purity, crowded full of heaven's angels in every leaf of the oaks of Derry. My Derry, my little oak grove . . . O eternal God in heaven woe to him who violates it.(147)

The similarities here with classical references are fascinating with a petition to God to protect the grove from violation, and one might even interpolate hamadryads for angels in the oak's leaves. Perhaps Columba's regard for the oak was a conscious manipulation of an old Celtic tradition that revered the oak. If he could incorporate some of the ancient symbolism of the oak into his ministries, then he might be more able to attract certain pagan elements into the Christian fold. It seems that he purposely chose such sites, for again Bede reports that he founded another monastery in Ireland, "Known in the Scots language as *Dearmach*, the Field of Oaks, because of the

(144) Stuart Piggott, *The Druids* (New York: Praeger, 1968), p. 106.
(145) D. Hyde, *A Literary History of Ireland* (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1967), p. 169.
(146) Ibid.
(147) Ibid., p. 170.

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oak forest in which it stands."(148) It would certainly give the newly Christianized Celts in Ireland, with their long-standing regard for the oak, something to identify with.

Gothonic Oak Worship

The term "Germanic" has obvious ambiguities; therefore, the term "Gothonic," as suggested by Gudmund Schutte, has been chosen to represent the German, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, and English nations.(149) In the Indo-European nucleus, Italic, Celtic, and Gothonic stocks are believed to have been neighbors, and Cowgill believes that the three shared contacts with each other.(150) The language contacts are obvious, each having its roots in Proto-Indo-European. What is postulated here is that they also shared a common heritage in regard to oak veneration, language and religious elements being only two specifics of a wider cultural complex.

To begin with, the floral evidence, as mentioned above, indicates that *quercus robur* comprised 50 percent of the German forests. The very vastness of the Hercynian forest, whose name is cognate with *quecus*, is testified to by Caesar (*Gallic Wars* 6.25). Pliny also refers to the Hercynian forest as being coeval with the world, and writes of other forests in northern Europe which are "occupied by oaks which grow with extreme eagerness" (Pliny *Natural History* 16.2.5). Oak forests also covered Britain and Ireland, and represented the extreme western portion of the western and central European deciduous forests, of which considerable parts are still dominated by the oak.(151) Scandinavian bogs have yielded up to the archaeologist's spade conclusive evidence that oak forests once covered the area.(152) Hence these northern peoples were, for the most part, quite intimate with the oak environment. Tacitus, after listing several German tribes, states: "All these nations occupy but little of the plain country, dwelling in forests" (Tacitus *Germania* 43).

(148) Bede, *History of the English Church and People*, trans. L. Sherley-Price (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972), p. 146 (3.4).

(149) Brian Branston, *Gods of the North* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1970), pp. 6-7.

(150) W. Cowgill, "Italic and Celtic Superlatives," in *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans*, p. 143.

(151) A. G. Tansley, *Britain's Green Mantle*, 2nd ed. (London: Allen & Unwin, 1968), p. 86.

(152) Frazer, *Golden Bough*, II:351-352.

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The Oak and the Sky-Gods

In Scandinavia, the oak was especially sacred to the sky-god Thor,(153) and his Gothonic counterparts, the old high German Donar; the old Saxon Thunaer; the Anglo-Saxon Thunor; and the Norman Thur.(154) Wilibald's *Vita Bonifacii* contains an account in which Saint Boniface, between A.D. 725 and A.D. 731, found the Hessians at Geismar paying homage to "arborem quandam mirae magnitudis, quae prisco Paganorum vocabulo appellatur robur Jovis."(155) Here, then, one finds the Hessians worshipping a gigantic oak which they refer to as *robur Jovis*. This label is no doubt the product of *interpretatic Romana*; this "oak of Jupiter" would translate into German as *Donares Eih*, the "oak of Donar."(156) Here Jupiter is undoubtedly Thor, an identification based on common traits.

Boniface, upon discovering this pagan worship, had the oak destroyed, but recognizing the association between the oak and the German high God, he used the wood of the holy oak to build a church. This was probably done in the hope that the Hessians would transfer their piety from the tree to the church.

The Gothonic sky-god, Thor, is again connected with the oak in an Irish work, *Thor en Irlande*. That Thor was present in Ireland is a legacy left by the Viking invasion of this island. The year A.D. 837 saw the Norsemen strike Ireland in great numbers, shortly after which they established the foundations of modern Dublin.(157) Although the Vikings never completely conquered the whole of Ireland, their control of the key harbors of Erin lasted into the eleventh century.

Thor en Irlande contains a passage that describes a "Forest of Thor." In the year A.D. 1000 Brian Boru is said to have spent a month burning this forest; much of this forest he succeeded in

(153) H. R. E. Davidson, *Gods and Myths of Northern Europe* (Hardmonsworth: Penguin Books, 1973), p. 191.

(154) J. A. MacCulloch, ed., *Mythology of All Races*, 13 vols. (New York: Cooper Square, 1964), vol. 2: *Eddic*, by J. A. MacCulloch, p. 268; cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, II:364.

(155) F. B. Gummere, *Founders of England* (New York: Stechert & Co., 1930), pp. 388-389; cf. J. L. K. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, 4 vols., trans. J. S. Stallybrass (New York: Dover Publications, 1966), I:72. (Translation: a great tree of extraordinary size, which in the language of the ancient pagans was called the oak of Jove.)

(156) Frazer, *Golden Bough*, II:364.

(157) Howard La Fay, *The Vikings* (Washington, D.C.: National Geographic, 1972), p. 74.

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destroying, but surviving the fire, "the lordly oaks alone stood upright." (158) Here, then, is an allusion to a complete forest of oaks being dedicated to Thor. No doubt these oaks were noted by the Vikings, and recognizing them as the sacred trees of Thor, they were sanctified, hence rendering the name "Forest of Thor."

The Viking invasion of Ireland met with strong resistance from the Irish peoples. As a result in the year 1014 Brian Boru, the first effective King of Ireland, was able to defeat the Vikings, at Clontarf. (159) This is relevant in that it provides good reason for the events taking place in the passage from *Thor en Irlande*. Brian Boru's destruction of this forest dedicated to Thor was no doubt an act of aggression against the Viking invaders. For the Christian Irish to destroy such a pagan holy place might be interpreted as a reprisal, carried out to avenge the destruction of Christian monasteries by the Vikings, and was, at the same time, a conscious attempt to erase all traces of the culture of the invaders.

As the Norsemen ranged over the north Atlantic, they reached Iceland, a land devoid of oaks, but a form of oak worship is known to have existed there. One is able to discern this from the custom of settlers bringing with them oaken pillars taken from Thor's temple in the homeland. It seems that these oaken pillars represented a surrogate for Thor's sacred tree.(160)

Gothonic Oak-Burials

Under the burial mounds and barrows of Denmark are to be found a wealth in oak-coffin burials. Some of the more prominent oak-coffin burials were discovered at Viborg in northern Jutland (161) and Egtved,(162) also in Jutland; both oak-coffins are interred under characteristic burial mounds. In this area the oak-coffin burials came into use toward the end of the neolithic period, but by the Bronze Age (ca. second millenium

(158) Davidson, *Gods and Myths of Northern Europe*, p. 87.
(159) La Fay, *The Vikings*, p. 76.
(160) Davidson. *Gods and Myths of Northern Europe*, p. 88.
(161) P. B. Du Chaillu, *The Viking Age*, 2 vols. (New York: AMS Press, 1970), I:247.
(162) Ole Klindt-Jensen, *Denmark Before the Vikings* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1957), p. 64.

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B.C.) they had spread all over the country.(163) The oak coffin is often found in association with Battle-Axe cultural elements, a culture that Gimbutas identifies with *Kurgan*.

Oak-coffin burials can also be found in southern Sweden, which are similar to those found in Jutland. At Eldsberga, two oak-coffins were discovered under the familiar barrow. These are also dated to the Middle Bronze Age (ca. 1500 B.C.) (164)

A description of these oak-coffin burials begins with an oak trunk, which is split lengthwise and hollowed out, one half forming the lid, the other half containing the human remains. (165) In some cases, this oak-coffin is protected by encasing it within a second, larger oak casket.(166)

The oak-burial association is not limited to oak-coffins. An elaborate mortuary house was discovered in Denmark, believed to have belonged to Queen Thyra. This sepulchral chamber measures twenty-one feet long, nine feet wide, and five feet high. The complete structure – floors, walls and ceiling – is constructed from oak.(167)

Palle Lauring, who writes on the oak-coffin burials in Denmark, questions why the oak was chosen as the material for the construction of these coffins. In a brief statement, he recognizes that the oak tree was sacred to the Danes, and then theorizes the possibility that oak was chosen for this reason. He states that by this means the dead may have been made one with the tree's sacred power.(168)

In some cases the corpse and the grave goods contained within these oak-coffins are remarkably well preserved, ranking second in preservation to the mummies of Egypt. The reason for this is that oak-wood contains a high amount of tannic acid, which acting with the ground water which seeps through

(163) P. V. Glob, *Danish Prehistoric Monuments*, trans. Joan Bulman (London: Faber & Faber, 1971), p. 128.

(164) M. K. H. Stenberger, *Sweden*, trans. Alan Binns (London: Thames & Hudson, 1962), pp. 78-79.

(165) Glob, *Danish Prehistoric Monuments*, p. 128.

(166) H. Shetelig and H. Falk, *Scandinavian Archaeology*, trans. E. V. Gordon (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), p. 146.

(167) M. W. Williams, *Social Scandinavia in the Viking Age* (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1920), p. 416.

(168) Palle Lauring, *The Land of the Tollund Man*, trans. R. Spink (London: Lutterworth Press, 1957), p. 75.

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the coffin, compounds to make an excellent preservative.(169)

Two Accounts of Oak Worship

An account of oak veneration centered around an oaken effigy is described by the twelfth century Danish historian, Saxo-Grammaticus. He writes of a religious sanctuary on the island of Rugen, an island in the Baltic Sea, off the coast of East Germany. On the island was a temple, decorated with purple hangings, which housed a huge oaken image "which they called Rugie-Vitus." Saxo describes this oaken effigy as having seven faces carved in its head, and as being dedicated to the god of war. (170)

The second account is written by the Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Writing in about A.D. 950, he describes how the Swedes worship an oak tree on an island in the Dnieper River. Constantine states that the island is named after St. Gregory, and on the island a gigantic oak tree grows. The Swedes, after safely crossing the rapids of the Dnieper River, made a thanks-offering to this oak. The offering consisted of birds, bread, and meat.(171)

Summation

Presented above is the evidence to suggest that the oak was worshipped among the Celtic and Gothonic nations, as was the case for their Italic and Greek cousins and neighbors. In both the Gothonic and Celtic spheres, the oak, more than any other tree, stands out as the representative vegetal element that is singled out for reverence, with the ash, as in the case of Yggdrasil, taking second place, since its reverence is more limited in geographical scope. Jacob Grimm, who did much research in Gothonic mythology, concludes that "of all the hallowed trees the oak takes first place."(172) Parke also agrees with Grimm, for he maintains that on the northern European plain the oak tree in particular was regularly regarded

(169) Gwyn Jones, *History of the Vikings* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 19; cf. Glob, *Danish Prehistoric Monuments*, p. 128; and Lauring, *Land of the Tollund Man*, p. 77.

(170) Saxo Grammaticus, *The Danish History*, 2 vols., trans. O. Elton (London: Norroena Society, 1905), II:584-585.

(171) Jacqueline Simpson, *Everyday Life in the Viking Age* (London: Batsford & Co., 1967), pp. 109-110.

(172) Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, II:651.

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as sacred.(173)

Veneration of the oak continued among the northern Europeans until their sacred oaks literally came under the proverbial axe of the Christians. A series of religious councils proscribed such pagan practices; the twenty-third canon of the Council of Arles held in A.D. 442 forbade the worship of trees, as did the Council of Tours in A.D. 567. (174) A letter from Pope Gregory III, written about A.D. 738, instructed the nobility of Hesse and Thuringa to reject prophecies in groves. (175) Even as late as the eleventh century A.D., Bishop Unwan of Bremen ordered the sacred groves of the Saxons and Frisians to be destroyed. (176)

Despite the efforts of the Christian church to suppress this long-standing tradition of oak veneration, traces of this practice still linger on in many examples of contemporary northern European folk-mythology. For example, the Copt-Oak in Leicestershire, England, was traditionally held to be a center of Druidic worship, and in the Middle Ages the oak appears to have been a place where civil courts were held. (177) Spence reportes that in recent times in Lower Saxony and Westphalia "holy oaks" are paid a half-heathen half-Christian homage. (178) Even as late as 1874, the Russian Orthodox Church adjured an oak tree: "Holy Oak Hallelujah, pray for us." (179)

Oak Veneration: Balto-Slavic

The area of Baltic culture was not an isolated pocket in early times. Marija Gimbutas states: "In genesis and development it is inseparable from the other Indo-European groups." (180) Moreover, its cultural contacts with the other Indo-European branches were constantly reinforced through a flourishing amber trade with Scandinavia, England, and central Europe.

(173) Parke, *Oracles of Zeus* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 22.
(174) Spence, *History and Origins of Druidism*, p. 24.
(175) E. Emerton, *The Letters of Saint Boniface* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), p. 70.
(176) Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, I:73.
(177) Spence, *History and Origins of Druidism*, p. 77.
(178) Ibid.
(179) Ibid., p. 78.
(180) Marija Gimbutas, *The Balts* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1963), p. 19.

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Amber was not all that the Balts shared with their Indo-European cousins, but also a thriving oak worship, as one might expect.

The Oak and the Male Spirit

The early animistic phase among the Balts centered around a belief in a force called *siela*, a force equal to the Roman *anima* and the Greek *pneuma*. (181) Upon the death of an individual his spirit would be reincarnated most frequently into trees. As far as the oak is concerned, it was reserved solely for male spirits. The oak, as the tree specifically sacred to the thunder-god, Perkunas, was considered most masculine. (182) It seems that the linden and the spruce were reserved for female spirits.

Perkunas and Romove

To the Balts the oak was especially sacred to their thunder-god Perkunas. (183) The first example of Baltic regard for the oak appears among the old Prussians, who do not belong to the Gothonic stock, as one might expect, but to the Baltic branch, the Prussians being considered western Balts. (184) Erasmus Stella, writing about these ancient Prussians in his work *de Borussiae Antiquitatibus*, states:

> Praexellentes arbores, ut robora quercus, deos inhabitare direxunt, ex quibus sciscitantibus responsa reddi audiebantur, ob id nec huiuscemodi arbores caedebant, sed religiose ut numinum deos colebant.(185)

This is indeed a valuable piece, for it reveals a number of interesting facets concerning Baltic oak veneration. First, the oak is regarded as the abode of a deity. Second, the tree is capable of oracular responses to those who would seek the will of this god. Finally, because of the oak's very sacredness, it is protected from violation, which taken as a whole closely

(181) Ibid., p. 190.

(182) M. Gimbutas, "Ancient Symbolism in Lithuanian Folk Art," *Memoirs of the American Folklore Society* 49 (1958): 59.

(183) Ivar Paulson, *The Old Estonian Folk Religion*, trans. J. K. Kitching and H. Kovamees, Uralic and Altaic Series, no. 108 (Hague: Mouton & Co., 1971), p. 64.

(184) See Gimbutas, *The Balts*, p. 15; and J. Geipel, *The Europeans* (New York: Pegasus Books, 1970), p. 67.

(185) Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion*, II:55. (Translation: Outstanding trees, for example the oak, are said to be inhabited by gods, from which one might hear oracular responses in answer to questions, because of this such trees are not cut down, so that the divine gods are reverently protected.)

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parallels Greek and Italic beliefs.

The center of this thriving Prussian oak worship was the sanctuary at Romove. The itinerant Dominican friar and chronicler, Simon Grunau, describes in his work, *Prussian Chronicles* (186) the cult center at Romove, where a giant evergreen oak surrounded by curtains and screened from profane gaze was greatly revered. Foreigners, especially, were prohibited from appearing before the holy oak. The giant oak itself was divided into three parts: each division contained the image of a god, and was consecrated in turn to Perkunas, Potrimpo, and Patollo. They were, respectively, the deities of thunder; rivers and springs; and the underworld. Before the image of Perkunas burned a perpetual fire of oak-wood. The sanctuary was maintained by a head priest, the *kriwe kirwaito*, and it was the duty of the *waidelots*, a college of celibate priests and priestesses, to maintain the sacred oak-fire and offer sacrifices. This offers a striking comparison to the perpetual fire of oakwood maintained by the celibate vestals in Rome.

One Prussian king, falling ill, ordered a funeral pyre to be built, then taking some of the perpetual fire from before the oak of Perkunas, had himself cremated. (187) This act brings to mind the cremation of Hercules.

Peter of Dusburg, who dedicated his *Chronicon Prussiae* to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights in 1326, informs the reader that the high priest of the nation keeps a perpetual fire at Romow; doubtless he refers to the Romove of Grunau. (188) Another document, written by John, Bishop of Samland, in the fourteenth century, refers to "Rummove" and the evergreen oak there. (189)

Perkunas is again associated with the oak in the following Lithuanian *daina*:

(186) See Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion*, IX:489; J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 13 vols., 3rd ed. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1955), II:366; J. A. MacCulloch, ed., *Mythology of All Races*, 13 vols. (New York: Cooper Square, 1964), vol. 2: *Eddic*, by J. A. MacCulloch, p. 333; P. Wagler, *Die Eiche in Alter und Neuer Zeit* (Berlin: Calvary & Co., 1891), pp. 46-48; and L. H. Grey, ed., *Mythology of All Races*, 13 vols. (Boston: Marshall Jones, 1918), vol. 3: *Celtic-Slavic*, by A. J. MacCulloch, J. Machal, and L. H. Gray, p. 148.

(187) Frazer, *Golden Bough*, IV:41.

(188) Ibid., II:366.

(189) Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion*, IX:489.

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When Morning Star was wedded,
Perkunas rode through the door-way,
And the green oak he shattered.
Then forth the oak's blood spurted,
Besprinkled my garments,
Besprinkled my crownlet.
With streaming eyes, the Sun's Daughter
For three years was collecting
The leaves, all seared and withered. (190)

This *daina* is somewhat enigmatic. L. H. Gray tries to explain what is occurring by stating that the action of Perkunas represents a Lithuanian marriage custom, whereby the man who conducts the bridge to the groom should appear armed, and as he rides forth, should strike the door posts in an attempt to exorcise demons. (191) However, Gray seems to miss the point. He equates the "green oak" with door posts. This must certainly be a misinterpretation, since later on in *daina* the "Sun's Daughter" is gathering leaves. It would be highly unlikely for door posts to display green leaves.

This *daina*, as rendered here, is describing a custom in which each family plants before its house a tree which is believed to protect the household. An analogy to this can be found in Scandinavia, where a botrad which translates as "abode-tree," is planted in front of the homestead and is regarded as the abode of the guardian spirit of the family. (192) Another analogy can be found in the Celtic poem *Cad Goddeu (Battle of the Trees)*. It states:

The oak tree swiftly moving
Before him tremble heaven and earth
Stout doorkeeper against the foe
Is his name in all lands.(193)

The *Cad Goddeu* certainly mentions the idea of guardian in the word "doorkeeper."

Another relevant factor is that the leaves of the oak are seared after Perkunas strikes it. The words "seared" and

(190) S. K. Chatterji, *Balts and Aryans* (Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1968), pp. 160-161.
(191) L. H. Gray, "Baltic Religion," in *Mythology of All Races*, vol. 3: *Celtic Slavic*, p. 322.
(192) *Funk and Wagnall's Dictionary of Folklore*, 1972 ed., s.v. "botrad."
(193) Robert Graves, *The White Goddess* (London: Faber & Faber, 1954), p. 33.

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"withered" are indicative of being burnt or scorched as if with a sudden application of intense heat. This is interesting, since it is Perkunas who has struck the oak, and since he is the god of thunder, could it be that he has destroyed this guardian oak with a lightning bolt? Perhaps he does not want the marriage to take place. This would certainly account for the sorrow expressed in the crying of the "Sun's daughter." That the leaves are worth spending three years to gather them up testifies to the special place that this guardian oak must have held in the mind of the family.

Jerome of Prague

The monk Jerome of Prague, who was active as a missionary in Lower Lithuania between the years 1409 and 1418, sent his report to the papal secretary, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini. This report testifies to the existence of oak veneration in early Lithuania. The report contains the following:

> Ventum erat ad medium nemoris, ubi quercum vetustissimam et ante omnes arbores religione sacram et quam potissime sedem esse putabant percutere aliquam diu nullus praesumpsit. (194)

When Jerome of Prague ordered the various sacred groves to be destroyed, the pagan element petitioned Vitoldus, prince of Lithuania, stating that Jerome was attempting to destroy the house of their god. (195)

The Slavs

Among the Slavs, the oak was also sacred. The common Indo-European name for oak was retained in Proto-Slavic, and is shared by all Slavic languages. (196) This is not surprising, since Slavic is considered the most conservative of the Indo-European tongues. (197) This common word for "oak" among all the Slavs indicates that the Slavic domain was located in a

(193) Robert Graves, *The White Goddess* (London: Faber & Faber, 1954), p. 33.
(194) Wilhelm Mannhardt, *Wald-Und Feld Kulte*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Gebruder Borntraeger, 1904), I:36; (Translation: ". . . it came to the middle of the woods where there was an oak tree, very old and which from the religious point of view was the most sacred and that they thought was a great religious shrine and that nobody dare to hit.")
(195) Frazer, *Golden Bough*, II:46, II:366.
(196) M. Gimbutas, *The Slavs* (New York: Praeger, 1971), p. 22.
(197) A. Meillet, *Indo-European Dialects*, trans. S. N. Rosenberg (University: University of Alabama Press, 1967), p. 67.

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zone where natural conditions did not differ much from the Proto-Indo-European homeland. (198)

Perun and the Oak

Helmold, writing of the pagan revival among the Wends, describes a journey he and Bishop Gerald made between Lubeck and Oldenburg in 1156. (199) During their travels they noted a grove containing an oak tree. The oak was regarded as sacred, and was thus kept within a fenced court apart from priests and worshippers alike; no one was permitted to violate its *temenos*. The people, priests, and the local prince are said to have assembled at this oak every week to hold courts of law. Did not the Galatians at Drunemeton, the "oak-sanctuary," hold assemblies in their sacred grove, as did the Germans according to Tacitus (*Germania* 39)? Helmold reports that this oak was dedicated to the local godhead Proven. Gimbutas believes this god to be a distortion of the Slavic thunder-god, Perun, who is cognate with the Baltic Perkunas. (200) Probably the variation in the name was caused by a taboo that forbade the speaking of such a holy name.

The cult center of Perun was at Novgorod. At Novgorod stood an anthropomorphic image of Perun wielding a thunderbolt. Before this image burned the familiar perpetual fire of oakwood, and the penalty was death to the priest who allowed its flame to be put out. (201)

Bishop of Bamberg

In typical Christian fashion, Bishop Otto of Bamberg, in the year 1124, is recorded to have destroyed three Slavic pagan temples at Stettin. He then immediately prepared to cut down a sacred oak, believed to be the dwelling place of a god. The pagan element, though they had permitted Otto to destroy the temples, fiercely resisted his efforts to destroy the venerated oak. (202) This particular incidence is enlightening in that it

(198) Gimbutas, *Slavs*, p. 22.

(199) See Gimbutas, *Slavs*, pp. 154-155; and C. J. Bleeker and G. Widengren, ed., *Historia Religionum* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969), "The Religion of the Slavs," in vol. 1: *Religions of the Past*, by F. Vyncke, pp. 657-658.

(200) Gimbutas, *Slavs*, p. 155; cf. F. Dvornik, *The Slavs* (Boston: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1956), p. 48.

(201) Frazer, *Golden Bough*, II:365; and J. Machal, *Celtic Slavic*, III:354.

(202) H. M. Chadwick, "The Oak and the Thunder-god," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 30 (1900):30, 33.

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demonstrates that oak veneration, a particularly ancient practice, was more deep-rooted in the psyche of the people than their more recent religious developments centered in the temple.

Oak Veneration in Russia

The Slavs in Russia are also reported to have worshipped an oak tree on the island of Bujan. It was believed that after sundown the sun came to rest upon its branches. (203) The sacredness of the oak among the Slavs in Russia died hard. Even as late as the eighteenth century, Feofan Prokopovich issued a regulation forbidding people to offer prayers before the oak tree.

Oak Veneration in Armenia

M. K. Ananikian writes that Armenian probably belonged to the Slavic family, whereas others label it as Thraco-Phrygian. Whatever group one might classify Armenian, both Slavic and Thraco-Phrygian language groups are Indo-European. (204) Ananikian points out that the oak played an important part in certain Armenian rituals. The ashes of a sacred oak-fire were mixed with water and were believed to have medicinal properties. (205)

Oak Veneration: Finno-Ugric

Although the Finno-Ugric peoples are not considered as being Indo-European, they were not as isolated as once believed, and for centuries the Finno-Ugric tribes were in close contact with the eastern branch of the Baltic and Slavic cultures. (206) This is evident through the process of acculturation; many Baltic words appear in the Finno-Ugric vocabulary. There is also evidence to support that they borrowed certain concepts in agriculture, in addition to plant, animal, and religious terminology. (207)

(203) Gimbutas, "Ancient Symbolism in Lithuanian Folk Art," in *Memoirs of the American Folklore Society*, p. 90.

(204) J. A. MacCulloch, ed., *Mythology of All Races*. 13 vols. (New York: Cooper Square, 1964), vol. 7: *Armenian*, by M. Ananikian, pp. 14-15, 57, and 62; cf. *Columbia Encyclopedia*, 3rd ed., s.v. "language."

(205) Ibid.

(206) M. Gimbutas, *The Balts* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1963), p. 20.

(207) Ibid., pp. 33, 36.

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Animism and the Estonians

The Estonians, a Finno-Ugric speaking people, believed the forest to be living, feeling, and knowing: an entity that exercised decisive influence on humans. (208) Hence these men felt a need to placate these forest spirits in a *do ut des* relationship.

Writings from the Juri and Koeru parishes in Estonia throw some light on the beliefs concerning such spirit-tenanted forests. That the spirits of the forest were considered to be anthropomorphic and highly personalized is made evident from the following Koeru passage:

> The forest spirits are people who were put into the forests in olden times. They live there and are said to be the rulers of the forest. They have wives and children and are very handsome and intelligent people. . . . They also have marrigeable daughters and sons. . . . They are supposed to die sometimes, just like people and others are born.

The following Juri passage depicts more limited and compartmentalized spirits, with each species of tree having its own particular type of spirit. It reads:

> Every forest has its own spirits. The spirits of the birch forest never go to an alder or oak forest. (209)

The Sacred Oak of the Finns

The description of a massive oak in the Finnish national epic *The Kalevala* is somewhat analogous to the Nordic Yggdrasil, and may well be considered as the representative world-tree of the Finns. Finnish literature describes this gigantic oak as follows:

> A lovely oak . . . sought to touch with its head the sky, it impeded the course of the clouds, the movement of the fleecy clouds, it darkened half the sun, it concealed a third of the earth. (210)

The description of this monstrous oak contained in the *Kalevala* is indeed similar in character to the Scandinavian Yggdrasil, which is described as "greatest of all trees . . . its

(208) I. Paulson, *The Old Estonian Folk Religion*, trans. J. K. Kitching and H. Kovamees, Uralic and Altaic Series, no. 108 (Hague: Mouton & Co., 1971), p. 62.
(209) Ibid., p. 63.
(210) John Abercromby, *The Pre and Proto-Historic Finns*, 2 vols. (London: David Nutt, 1898; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1972), II:335.

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limbs spread out over all the world and stand above heaven."(211)

Magical Properties of Oakwood

Finnish tradition holds that this gigantic oak was destroyed, and from its wood arrows were made. These are often referred to as "arrows of the sorcerer." (212) Such arrows when shot into a human were believed to cause pleurisy. (213) Another version holds that the wood of the fallen oak, when gathered, brings "eternal luck" and "eternal power to please." (214) However, like the Celtic poem *Merlin the Diviner*, the topmost branch of the oak was the most sought after, because whoever possessed this branch would obtain eternal skill in magic.(215)

Talking Oaks and Medicinal Properties

One particular Finnish literary source depicts a young boy talking to an oak tree. He asks the oak if, beneath its bark, there is a salve capable of curing various pains. The oak answers him, presumably in human speech, through no intermediary; the answer is in the affirmative. (216) This is pertinent in that it places the Finns in the category of those who believe in talking trees, that is, with the Greeks, Latins, and the Balts.(217)

(211) R. Smith, ed., "Selections from the Prose Edda," in *Tree of Life* (New York: Viking Press, 1942), p. 54.

(212) *Kalevala*, trans. W. F. Kirby, 2 vols. (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1966), I:15.

(213) Abercromby, *Pre- and Proto-Historic Finns*, pp. 336, 341.

(214) Ibid., pp. 339-340.

(215) Ibid., p. 340; cf. Merlin the Diviner in *Lyra Celtica*, ed. E. A. Sharp and J. Matthay (New York: Haskell House, 1970), p. 46.

(216) Ibid., p. 385.

(217) Rune II of the Kalevala is interpreted as a conscious effort, on the part of the literate Finns, to record the tribal memory of the changes which occurred in the natural environment of their ancestors, the primitive Finns. It begins with "a region bare of forests," believed here to represent the late glacial period, a time before the rise of the post-glacial forests. Line five subsequently reflects a passage of time, and thus one approaches the post-glacial Pre-Boreal phase. With the advent of this phase, forests began to appear. This coincides with Pellervoinen planting the various trees (lines 20-40). Lines 47 through 50 represent the various species flourishing, all but the oak. Lines 53 through 56 reflect a further passage of time, and hence one reaches the Atlantic phase, with its climatic optimum. Now the oak begins to grow, and eventually becomes the dominant tree of the mixed-oak climax forests. This is reflected in the description of the oak lines 78-84) growing to an immense size, and becoming the predominant feature of the landscape. The oak forests began to subside, probably due to a cooling period, and so lines 175 through 190 speak of the destruction of the oak. The tree that survives this cooling period is the birch (line 262.

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Conclusions

The eastern limit of the oak in Europe is marked by the Ural Mountains. Species *qercus* does not cross the Urals, and since the proto-Finns are believed to have originated somewhere in central Russia, (218) they originated in an area devoid of the oak. Therefore, it can only be concluded that those Finns who knew the oak must have named it after their arrival on the European scene. (219) If this was the case, it would necessitate their mythology, which surrounded and involved the oak, to have also been formulated in Europe.

Once the Western Finns moved into the Estonian area, they became neighbors with Indo-Europeans speaking a Lithuanian dialect. (220) Consequently, there is, as mentioned above, evidence of acculturation and borrowing from these Indo-Europeans on the part of the Finns. One of the best and most pertinent examples is the borrowing of *perkele*, a Finnish deity, from the Lithuanian Perkunas, the thunder-god of the Balts, to whom the oak is particularly sacred. (221) It is believed here that the borrowing of this word was also accompanied by the idea that the oak was sacred to the sky-god. Finnish literature does indeed refer to the oak as the tree of this god.

The Gods of Thunder

Above can be seen the evidence for the veneration of the oak, which as indicated, is shared by the various Indo-European branches, and peoples who at some time in their histories have, to a degree, been Indo-Europeanized. That oak veneration is rooted in Proto-Indo-European culture, and was dispersed by carriers of that culture, is supported not only by examples of oak veneration in each of the above language groups, but also by the fact that, in each case, the oak is inextricably associated with the various thunder-gods.

Zeus

Zeus is definitely a god of Indo-European origin. (222)

(218) Abercromby, *Pre- and Proto-Historic Finns*, I:146.
(219) Ibid., I:223.
(220) Ibid., I:242.
(221) Ibid., I:248.
(222) G. Murray, *Five Stages of Greek Religion* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1955), pp. 47-48.

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A brief etymology connects "Zeus" with the Indo-European root **dyeus*, and is found in the Sanskrit *dyaus*; the Greek Zeus; and the Latin Jupiter, from *Ju-piter, Zeu-pater*, (223) or *Diou-pater*. (224) Of equal certainty is the synonymity of Zeus with lord of the sky, that is, the sky as the sphere of atmospheric phenomena. His primary functions appear to be connected with rain and the weather in general. The various epithets of Zeus, such as *Ombrios* and *Hyettios*, "rainer"; *Urios*, "sender of favorable winds"; *Astrapaios*, "Lightener"; *Bronton*, "Thunderer"; and *Keraunios*, "He of the thunderbolt," bears witness to this. (225) Hence the most violent natural celestial phenomenon, the thunderstorm, became associated with the wrath of Zeus, wielder of the thunderbolt.

That Zeus was particularly associated with thunder and lightning is attested to by the example of Salmoneus. Salmoneus, the king of Elis, wishing to be equal to Zeus, mimicked his thunder and lightning by dragging bronze kettles behind his chariot and flinging lighted torches into the air (Apollodorus *The Library* 1.9.17).

Perhaps the most cogent example of the connection between "Zeus of the oak" with "Zeus the thunder-god" is to be found in the practice of using an oak branch as a charm to elicit rain in times of drought by the priests of Zeus on the slopes of Mount Lycaios. The oak branch from the sacred tree of Zeus thus becomes an instrument through which one might contact the weather aspect of the god.

So here one has an Indo-European thunder-god, who Murray treats as the patriarchal god of invading northmen (Proto-Indo-European *Kurgans*), passing from the upper Danube into Greece, and who can be traced through his three sanctuaries Dodona, Olympus and Olympia, with Dodona being a prime example of an oak-oriented Zeus. (226)

(223) J. Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, 13 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), II:3.

(224) *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Jupiter," by H. J. Rose.

(225) H. J. Rose, *Handbook of Greek Mythology* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1959), p. 47.

(226) Murray, *Five Stages in Greek Religion*, p. 48.

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Jupiter

The Italian counterpart of Zeus is Jupiter, and these two gods have much in common. Both were associated with the oak, and both were gods of the sky, and subsequently weather and thunder. In Italy it was Jupiter Elicius who regulated the rainfall, and Jupiter Fulgur who wielded the lightning bolt.(227) Yet, simultaneously, Jupiter, who also had a cult epithet of Feretrius, could be worshipped in the form of a huge oaken pillar.

Taranis

The Celts worshipped a god called Taranis (Lucan *Pharsalia* 1.444). This name also appears in inscriptions as Tanarus, Taranacus, and Taranucnus, which corresponds to the Gothonic Thunuraz-Thunaer-Thor cognates, who was also a thunder-god. (228) MacCana states that Taranis means "thunderer." (229) Taranis can be found cognate to words for thunder in the Welsh *tarann*; the Irish *torann* and the Cornish *taran*. (230) Taranis can also be found in sculpture wielding his characteristic thunderbolt.

Caesar reports that the Celts had a god "Jupiter" (Caesar *Gallic Wars* 6.17). Chadwick argues that since the Latin Jupiter is likewise a thunder-god, there can be little doubt that Taranis is the god meant by Caesar. (231) This might be confirmed by an inscription found at Chester in England. The inscription is dedicated to: "I.O.M. Tanaro," which extends to: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Tanaro*, which translates as "Jupiter-Tanarus The Best and Greatest." (232) This, coupled with the statement of Maximus of Tyre stating that the image of the Celtic Zeus was a lofty oak, leads to the probable conclusion that here again the oak-god and the thunder-god are synonymous.

(227) R. M. Ogilvie, *The Romans and Their Gods in the Age of Augustus* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1969), p. 12.

(228) H. M. Chadwick, "The Oak and Thundergod," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 30 (1900): 26.

(229) P. MacCana, *Celtic Mythology* (London: Hamlyn, 1973), p. 31.

(230) Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion*, II:33;

(231) Chadwick, "The Oak and the Thundergod," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 30:26, cf. Jean-Jacques Hatt, *Celts and Gallo-Romans*, trans. J. Hogarth (Geneva: Nagel, 1970), p. 245.

(232) R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), I:149-150.

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Thor

In the Gothonic sphere, the god of thunder and the bringer of rains is Thor and his Gothonic counterparts – the old high German Donar; the old Saxon Thunaer; the Anglo-Saxon Thunor; and the Norman Thur. These very names translate as "thunder," and are cognate with the Latin *tonitrus* and the Celtic Taranis. (233) Adam of Bremen, about 1075, writes:

> Thor presides in the air and governs thunder and lightning, winds and rain, and the fair fruits of earth. (234)

There are some interesting connections between the Gothonic and Latin thunder-gods. Thor is said to have wielded *Mjollnir*, his hammer, considered emblematic of the thunderbolt. (235) Saxo Grammaticus refers to this hammer as *malleos Ioviales*. (236) The Gothonic thunder-gods and the Latin Jupiter share the same day, Thursday or *dies Jovis*. The English "Thursday" is a Norman inheritance. Its cognates can be found in the following:

Old High German – Donarestag or Toniristag
Anglo-Saxon – Thunoresdaeg
Old English – Thunresdaeg
Swedish – Thorsday
Danish – Tordag
Modern German – Donnerstag. (237)

That Thursday was sacred to the thunder-god is also attested to by the identification of the Balto-Slavic thunder-god, Perun or Perkunas, with his sacred day, *Perendan*, the equivalent of Thursday. (238) It is worth noting that in the seventh century

(233) Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion*, I:33.
(234) W. A. Craigie, *Religion of Ancient Scandinavia* (Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, 1969), p. 4.
(235) *Funk and Wagnall's Dictionary of Folklore*, 1972 ed., s.v. "Thor."
(236) H. M. Chadwick, "The Oak and the Thundergod," in *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XXX:23;
(237) See J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 13 vols., 3rd ed. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1955), II:364; and H. R. E. Davidson, *Gods and Myths of Northern Europe* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1964), p. 86.
(238) See S. Reinach, *Orpheus*, trans. F. Simmonds (New York: Liveright Inc., 1930), p. 52; and E. Sykes, *Dictionary of Non-Classical Mythology*, 5th ed. (London: J. M. Dent, 1968), p. 168.

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A.D., Saint Eligius found it necessary to forbid the Thursday celebrations among the Franks. (239) No doubt they were held in honor of the thunder-god. The eighth century work *Indiculus Superstitionum* speaks of a Saxon *sacra Jovis*; this is believed to mean the Saxon Thunaer, since he was one of the gods whom the Saxons renounced at baptism. (240) In addition, an old English sermon written by Abbot Aelfric about A. D. 1000 also equates Thor with Jupiter. (241) The Gothonic thunder-god must have had a number of similarities with the Latin Jupiter to prompt such identifications.

Perkunas

The thunder-god of the Lithuanians is Perkunas, and to the Slavs he is known as Perun. Perkunas is cognate with the Latvian Perkons, the Prussian Perkonis, the Hittite Peruna, and the Vedic Parjanya, all of which are gods of celestial phenomena. (242) If Perkunas is thus connected with thunder, then he is equally associated with the oak, since Perkunas is believed to be cognate with the Proto-Indo-European oak-morpheme $*perk^{w}$. Friedrich states: "In sum, the early Balts appear to have associated the ideas of thunder, storm . . . and oak."(243)

Ukko-Jumala

Among the Finns, Ukko was the sky-god, commander of the clouds, rain, and thunder. Ukko is often identified with Jumala, the god of heaven, to whom the oak is sacred.(244) *Jumala*, the Finnish word for "god," originally meant sky, and thus, with the passage of time, he beame equated with Ukko, the god of celestial phenomena. Ukko had several epithets that characterize his position. They are as follows:

"God-Lord-Father on high"
"God above the clouds"
"The aerial God"

(239) H. M. Chadwick, "The Oak and the Thundergod," in *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XXX:15;
(240) J. A. MacCulloch, ed., *Mythology of All Races*, 13 vols. (New York: Cooper Square, 1964), vol. 2: *Eddic*, by J. A. MacCulloch, p. 268.
(241) Craigie, *Religion of Ancient Scandinavia*, p. 3.
(242) See M. Gimbutas, *Balts* (London: Thames, Hudosn & Co., 1963), p. 198; P. Friedrich, *Proto-Indo-European Trees* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 136.
(243) Friedrich, *Proto-Indo-European Trees*, p. 136.
(244) *Funk and Wagnall's Dictionary of Folklore*, s.v. "Ukko."

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"The great lord of the air"
"The mighty father of the sky"
"The father of the rulers of the sky"
"The ancient father of the sky"
"He who lives at the midpoint of the sky"
"He at the edge of the thundercloud"
"The ruler of the thunderclouds" (245)

Here again the idea of the sky-god being connected with the oak survives, for *The Kalevala* calls the oak "Jumala's tree."

Baal

In Canaan, Baal is associated with thunder, which is confirmed by passages in Ugaritic texts. (246) Also a statue found at Ugarit, dated at about 1400 B.C., believed to be Baal, brandishes a thunderbolt. (247) Baal was transported by Phoenicians to Carthage, and was later identified with Jupiter and Amon at the Wadi Siwah. Here he was known as Baal-Hammon. (248) This identification was no doubt due to the similarities shared by these gods. Baal's connection with the oak is through his association with Asherah, and her oaken images, the *asherim*. That Asherah and Baal were in close association is well documented in the Bible (Judges 3:7; I Kings 18:19; II Kings 17:16; and II Chronicles 33:3).

The Oak and the Thunder-God

The association of the oak with the thunder-god is an often quoted and established principle, usually referred to in passing as a matter of fact, and usually unsupported. Here is a prime example:

The Indo-European symbol for the fecund all creating sky father is the tree with its multiple acorn-glans, the oak.(249)

Few, however, have bothered to ask the reasons for such a connection. Why should a terrestrial element, the oak, even be associated at all with the celestial sky-gods, two apparently isolated and incongruous elements?

(245) John Abercromby, *Pre- and Proto-Historic Finns*, 2 vols. (New York: AMB Press, 1972), I:273.

(246) H. H. Ringgren, "The Religion of Ancient Syria," in *Religions of the Past*, ed. C. J. Bleeker and G. Widengren (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969), p. 200.

(247) *Zondervan Bible Dictionary*, 1970 ed., s.v. "Baal," by S. Barabas.

(248) Ringren, "The Religion of Ancient Syria," in *Religions of the Past*, p. 202.

(249) Weston La Barre, *They Shall Take Up Serpents* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1962), p. 75.

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The Theory of H. Munro Chadwick

The first theory to be discussed is that of H. Munro Chadwick. His theory concerning the association between the oak and the thunder-god is based on one maxim. This maxim states that the thunder-god inhabited the oak, and he did this because his worshippers lived under the oak. He qualifies this statement in the following:

> Originally, no doubt, he [the thunder-god] was conceived of as dwelling in the sky; but from the very close connection which exists in all primitive communities between the god and his people, it became inevitable that he should be regarded as present in the house [an oak] of the community. (250)

It is granted that the oak did, indeed, offer a degree of shelter. The *Selli* slept on the ground with only the boughs of Dodona's oak to protect them from the elements. The Prussian priests of the god Potrimpo at Romove were required to sleep on the ground beneath the oak before sacrificing to the god. (251) The similarities between these two practices are worthy of note. Evidence of the oak providing shelter can be found in the *Volsung Saga*. King Volsung is accredited with building his hall under an immense oak. The saga describes it as:

> A great oak stood in the midst of it, and the limbs of the tree with their fair blooms upon them reached out over the roof of the hall, and the trunk was within; and they called the tree Branstock. (252)

One Anglo-Saxon elegy also makes reference to people living beneath the oak. It reads: "I was banished to this knoll knotted by woods to live a den dug beneath an oak." (253) In fact, a popular Nordic kenning, namely "roof-tree," reflects the idea of a tree providing shelter. Even Ovid speaks of such a situation, writing: "In those days, when the sun

(250) H. M. Chadwick, "Oak and Thundergod," in *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute*," XXX: 42.

(251) Frazer, *Golden Bough*, II:248.

(252) *Saga of the Volsungs*, trans. M. Schlauch (New York: American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1964), p. 48.

(253) "The Wife's Complaint," in the *Earliest English Poems*, trans. M. Alexander (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966, reprint, 1972), pp. 81-82.

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and rain were not kept out by a roof, an oak gave food and covering alike" (Ovid *Ars Amatoria* 2.622).

Chadwick's maxim is not acceptable here. He writes of the oak as being "chosen for the habitation of the primitive community and consequently of all their belongings [and] their animals." What Chadwick fails to recognize is that if the oak was regarded as a shelter for man, belongings, and livestock, then it would be a rather mundane feature to such a society. This is not the kind of feature that would single out the oak as a sacred object. John Noss, discussing the concept of "sacredness," writes:

> A primitive man regards anything sacred or holy with a distinct attitude uniting caution with respect. The sacred possesses such significance that he never deals with it carelessly or casually . . . . The proper approach therefore is with a sense of holy mystery, awe, reverence and devout fear . . . . In the presence of the sacred there is a certain anxiety. (254)

Certainly the oak as a mere "tree-home" would not command caution, respect, anxiety or any other kind of religious awe. Evidence, as cited in previous chapters, would indicate quite the opposite from what Chadwick proposes, that is, any particular oak that is considered to be the abode of the thunder-god, and thus sacred, is protected from violation and contamination. Evidence has been cited that indicates such oaks were fenced off, and at times not even the priest was allowed to enter its precinct. Among the Balts it was forbidden to gaze upon a sacred oak.

Hastings also finds Chadwick's maxim in error. He writes:

> It is difficult to conceive why H. Munro Chadwick, in his otherwise excellent essay . . . deduces such a far-fetched reason for this phenomenon as a supposed dwelling of primitive man below the oak. (255)

In conclusion, Chadwick is unconvincing in his task to explain the connection between the oak and the thunder-god. His argument, that the thunder-god is supposed to inhabit the oak because it was the dwelling place of his worshippers, is a weak assumption. Undoubtedly, the oak provided shelter,

(254) J. Noss, *Man's Religions*, 3rd ed. (New York: Macmillan &Co., 1963), p.14.
(255) Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion*, II:46;

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a practical virtue, but this fact alone is a frail foundation upon which to build such a theory.

J. G. Frazer's Theory

The year 1890 saw the publication of Sir James G. Frazer's *Golden Bough* in two volumes, which was later enlarged to a monumental thirteen volumes. Included in this amplified edition was a chapter on the worship of the oak and its special connection with Indo-European thunder-gods. Frazer began by posing the following questions:

> A connexion may be seen between the sky, the rain and the thunder; but what has any of this to do with the oak? . . . Which of them was the original center of attraction? . . . What is the bridge between the two? (256)

Frazer remarked that "The oak is primary and original, the sky, rain, and thunder secondary and derivative." (257) The reason he gave for such a conclusion was based on the supposition that fire on earth was regularly kindled by rubbing oaken sticks together and that the primitive would readily infer that fire in heaven, or lightning, was produced in a like manner. (258) On this belief, he declared:

> Thus it is easy to conceive how a god of the oak, viewed as a source of earthly fire, should be regarded as a god of lightning. (259)

On the contrary, this approach to the question is not convincing. Oak is not the only wood from which fire sticks might be constructed; any hard wood producing sufficient friction might be employed to start a fire.

Frazer, consequently, quickly came under fire from other scholars. A. B. Cook in his review of *The Golden Bough* declared the following:

> Finally, it is conjecture as precarious as any, that the chief deity of the Greeks and Italians, was none other than the oak, and that he derived his name "the bright or shining one" from the fact that on certain occasions fires of oak were kindled. (260)

(256) Frazer, *Golden Bough*, II:349-350.
(257) Ibid., II:350.
(258) Ibid., II:373.
(259) Ibid., II:374.
(260) A. B. Cook, "The Golden Bough and the Rex Nemorensis," *Classical Review* 16 (1902):371.

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Cook repeated this protest in his work *Zeus : A Study of Ancient Religion* (261) However, the theory that Cook put forth was equally tenuous and conjectural. He stated that the oak was originally the tree of the earth-mother, rather than the tree of the sky-father, and that the sky-father as thunder-god only became associated with the oak through his connection with the earth mother. (262) The only example, in this work, that might support this conclusion is the case of the association of the oak with Asherah and her subsequent association with Baal. However, the weight of the evidence indicates that the oak's primary association is with the thunder-god or sky-father. It is held here that the veneration of the oak was originally a Proto-Indo-European element. Since Proto-Indo-European kinship is patriarchal, whose basic unit is the patrilocal family, then such a widespread and important element as oak worship would seem better suited to the sky-father. Gimbutas writing on Proto-Indo-European kinship states: ". . . evidence for patriliny is excellent. The whole system seems to be typical of the patrilineate in its most highly developed form. (263) This patrilineate system would undoubtedly be reflected in their religion.

Cook's criticism of *The Golden Bough* did not go unnoticed by Frazer, who asked Cook to reconsider the whole question. Cook, consequently, undertook a study of classical oak cults, after which he wrote:

> I may say at once that this more thorough investigation has led me to abandon my negative criticism except such parts of it as related to the aforesaid inconsistencies.(264)

Cook realized the significance of the oak in Indo-European religion. It appears that he became so enthusiastic that some of his evidence became somewhat exaggerated. W. Warde Fowler phrases it much more diplomatically.

We must, however, remember that Mr. Cook is, so to

(261) A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940), I:1.

(262) Ibid.

(263) M. Gimbutas, "Proto-Indo-European Culture," in *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans*, ed. G. Cardona, H. Hoenigswald and A. Senn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970), p. 191.

(264) A. B. Cook, "Zeus, Jupiter, and the Oak," *Classical Review* 17 (1903): 174.

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speak, on an oak scent, and his keeness as a hunter leads him sometimes astray. (265)

The Theory of W. W. Fowler

W. Warde Fowler, too, became interested in the questions raised by Frazer. Frzaer had argued it unlikely that a god of thunder should come to be regarded as a god of oak merely because the oak reaches skyward and is often struck by lightning. Fowler thought otherwise.

Fowler's article , "Oak and Thundergod," appearing in 1913, was short, but quite effective. His hypothesis was based on the works of a German professor of forestry, Dr. Hess, whose writings were contained in the *Manual of Forestry* compiled by Dr. W. Schlich. Hess gives a tabulated account of sixteen years of observation carried on and recorded by the foresters of Lippe-Detmold. This forest contained 70 percent beech, 13 percent spruce, 11 percent oaks, and 6 percent fir. Yet 310 oaks were struck by lightning in the course of sixteen years, whereas only 33 beeches were struck over the same period. (266)

Fowler, using these very figures, concluded that the oak is more frequently struck by lightning than any other species. He writes:

> Now if we can infer from Dr. Hess's figures that in the forests of primaeval Europe the oak was more frequently struck than any other tree, we have a natural explanation of the religious connection between the oak and thunder. (267)

This would be especially true, since in prehistoric Europe the percentage of oaks was quite higher than the percentage at Lippe-Detmold.

Frazer's Reversal

Suddenly, in the 1913 edition of *The Golden Bough*, one can note a dramatic change in opinion. Frazer writes:

It is a plausible theory that the reverence which the

(265) W. Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1911), p. 143.

(266) W. Warde Fowler, "Oak and Thundergod," in *Archiv Fur Religionswissenschaft* 16 (1913):318.

(267) Ibid., p. 319.

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> ancient peoples of Europe paid to the oak, and the connexion which they traced between tree and their sky-god, were derived from the much greater frequency with which the oak appears to be struck by lightning than any other tree in the European forests. (268)

The source he quotes for this statement is Fowler. Fowler had called Frazer's attention to these figures in a personal letter dated September 17, 1912. (269) Frazer, so to speak, had been won over by Fowler's new theory, for now he writes:

> I now prefer that the god of the sky and the thunder was the great original deity of our Aryan ancestors, and his association with the oak was merely an inference based on the frequency with which the oak was seen to be struck by lightning. (270)

This statement thus represents a complete reversal in the opinion of Sir James Frazer.

Lightning and the Oak

That lightning strikes the oak more often than other trees is based scientifically on the laws of electricity. Experiments on the conductivity of electricity in wood indicate that starchy trees such as the oak are better conductors than oily trees like the beech and the birch, which offer more resistance and are thus poor conductors. (271)

Jacob Grimm, who first published his *Teutonic Mythology* in 1835, by realizing that lightning struck the oak more than other trees, preempted both Fowler and Frazer. He wrote:

> The oak being the sacred tree of Thorr, he slays the giants that take refuge under it; under the beech he has no power over them. It has been remarked that lightning penetrates twenty times as far into the oak as into the beech. (272)

That the Greeks, at least, recognized that oaks in particular were struck by lightning is attested to by Theophrastus (Theophrastus *Enquiry into Plants* 3.8.5). This theme is recognized also in an eleventh century Irish poem, which describes the

(268) Frazer, *Golden Bough*, II:298.
(269) Ibid.
(270) Frazer, *Golden Bough*, XI:300.
(271) Ibid., p. 299.
(272) J. L. K. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, 4 vols., trans. J. S. Stallybrass (New York: Dover Publications, 1966), IV:1340-1341.

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thunder as "the noise of the storm in the oak wood." (273)

The fact that the oak is struck more than any other tree by lightning proved to be an important consideration in divination as practiced by the Romans. Ogilvie declares: "Lightning was, par excellence, the prerogative of Jupiter and therefore the most authoritative sign of all. The place where lightning struck was immediately declared holy, because it seemed that Jupiter had claimed it for himself." (274) Cyril Bailey repeats this idea exactly, calling the spot where the lightning had struck a bidental. (275) This would indeed support Fowler's theory very well. The oak, being struck by lightning, would naturally be interpreted as Jupiter choosing his favored tree.

Hence there is much to support this credible hypothesis. It is fairly conclusive and has been widely accepted. Fowler's report was virtually the last word on the oak and thunder-god question.

(273) "The Wild Man Praises the River Garbh," in *Celtic Miscellany*, trans. K. H. Jackson (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), p. 79.

(274) Ogilvie, *The Romans and Their Gods*, p. 58.

(275) C. Bailey, *Phases in the Religion of Ancient Rome* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1973), pp. 41-42.

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SACRAL KINGS OF IRAN

JOHN W. RICHARDS

Until the end of the third millenium B.C., western Persia and the mountains of Zagros were inhabited by two peoples, the Guti and Lullubi, whose culture was heavily influenced by that of Sumeria and Elam – the Luristan metalsmiths especially having left a prolific assortment of bronzes. Their control over this area appears to have been disturbed as early as 2200 B.C. by the appearance of northern peoples "who either spoke Indo-Aryan dialects or had had prolonged contact with the Indo-Aryan peoples in the steppe-lands north and east of the Caspian. Some were themselves of direct Indo-Aryan origin, forming a ruling aristocracy amongst the new settlers." (Frye 1962, p. 18)

These migrants appear to have been related to the Hittites, who infiltrated northern Anatolia and used an Indo-European dialect known as Nasili. We know little about the first Indo-European speaking migrants in the Zagros region, but by 1800 B.C. the picture is becoming more clear. In a "classic" pattern that seems to have been repeated in many areas, it would appear that the first relatively spasmodic migrations were followed by a larger scale invasion, and although there are no signs of conquest, a "peaceful" immigration of Indo-European speaking Kassites has been identified in the Zagros mountains and the plains north and east of the confluence of the Diyala and the Tigris. (Gimbutas, 1963, p. 823) These Kassites left no literature, but Babylonian scribes recorded sufficient evidence to enable us to identify Indo-European names and also a pantheon of recognizable Indo-European sky-gods.

Following the Kassites by two centuries, a third Indo-European migration into the middle East brought warrior tribes to the Khabur river head waters, and this third wave, comprising the Mitanni, seems to have been planned as a deliberate conquest of the Hurrian population of northern Syria. The Mitanni were not slow to learn the arts of the superior civilization which they overran, and harnessing its creative power to their own service, they established themselves as a ruling aristocracy, extending their influence as far as Palestine.

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The Mitanni had Indo-European names, we know that they worshipped the same sky gods which occur in the Rigveda, and that they used a system of counting which corresponded to that of the Indo-Iranians. Like the Hittites and Kassites, they were excellent metalworkers, with a knowledge of iron, but above all they were horsemen, horse breeders, horse racers and chariot riders. Their aristocracy, at least, were essentially warrior-hunters, and Kassite graves reveal warriors buried with their horses, harness, weapons and hunting equipment.

The Aryans Enter Iran

However, we know far too little of the social organization of these earlier Indo-European-speaking migrants to justify any substantial generalisations. We may assume, perhaps, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that since their graves would indicate a semi-nomadic or at least a pastoral tradition, and since they came from an area in which pastoralism dominated, their culture may well have been similar to that of the Sarmatians, similar indeed to the Gimirra who a few centuries later were to attack Assyria from the same general direction — the Caucasus. Leaving these assumptions, let us look at the Medes and Persians as they entered Iran from the southern steppes and the lands around the Caspian, a migration which was roughly contemporary to that of the Phrygians into Asia Minor and the Dorians into Greece (Clark 1969, p. 108 f.f.). .

The Persians probably entered Iran from Transoxiana, or *Eranvej* (Herzfeld, 1935, p.7), the legendary *Aryanan-Vaejo* or ancestral paradise, and were probably prevented from crossing the Hindu Khush to India by the fact that some of their number, the Indo-Aryans, had already preceded them. This would tally with ancient Persian myths which record that their first king, Kaiomurs Gilshah 'King of the World' was reputed to have established his capital at Balkh, in which city his great grandson Shah Djemsheed, a culture hero, was credited with the introduction of iron, the weaving and embroidery of silk, and also with the division of the Iranians into four castes: priests, warriors, traders and farmers.

Each of these four divisions of society, we may assume, were freeborn, since even the *vastryoshan* or farmers (cognate with Sanskrit 'vaisya') were described by the poet Firdousee as "rendering homage to no one . . . . subject to the orders of

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none, although their clothes are humble, and their ear is never struck by the clamour of slander" (Benjamin, 1882, p.2). Frye, however, believes that the early Iranians may have comprised only *Arya*, servants and slaves (Frye, 1962, p.54), in which case we must conclude that the free traders and farmers were indigenous peoples, who had not been relegated to serfdom. There is no incontrovertible evidence to confirm that the incoming Aryans brought with them a quadrupartite system. A tripartite system is, however, better documented – as 'kavi' are indicated – but although their vocabulary shows them to have been acquainted with farming, it is possible that by analogy with the Scythians who occupied the Asian steppelands a millenium later the migrating families would not have included any free farmers, only slave cultivators subject to a horse-riding, cattle-owning, military aristocracy.

The Iranian and Median advance across Persia was checked at the Zagros mountains, not by the rugged terrain, but by the settled and powerful civilizations of the Tigris-Euphrates valley, to whose Assyrian rulers they first paid tribute. For several centuries the Persians and Medes were relatively quiet in their new homeland, assimilating much of the higher culture of Mesopotamia, and of the people they had conquered, and preparing for that golden age of expansion and culture-building which was to earn them such a prominent place in world history. Nevertheless the memory of these early cattle-herding days were to survive long in the lore of Persia, and a thousand years later Zoroastrians still constantly invoked the 'spirit of the kine.' The Iranians themselves never really forgot that they were originally descended from warrior pastoralists "who detached themselves from the main body, while the wandering tribes passed through eastern Iran towards India." Every free adult Persian male was entitled to bear arms, and was known as a *maryka*, or knight (Frye, 1962, p. 53).

At first, many of the invaders enlisted as paid, mercenary, cavalry, but after some time apparently decided that instead of drawing mercenaries' pay they could themselves become the rulers of these rich new territories – a development parallel to the history of the Goths in Europe, who served first the Eastern Roman Empire, then the Western Empire, and finally subjugated and apportioned the Western Empire, giving each warrior knight an extensive estate of his own.

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In the *airyanem* of professional 'noble' warriors, which was attached to the court of every Aryan prince, prior to the emergence of centralized government, we discern an Iranian 'comitatus' organization, parallel to the Scythian companions who died with their king. These warrior-tribesmen were equivalent to the noble 'ksatriya' class of the Indo-Aryans, but the Iranian cognates of the Sanskrit term had narrower meanings. Just as the Sanskrit 'ksatra' implied 'charisma of rule,' the Iranian *khshathra* was used only in the sense of the mystique of sacred kings, while *khshayathiya* meant 'king' in Iranian. Nevertheless, the appearance of the *airyanem* symbolises the emergence of an heroic society, complete – in later centuries, and perhaps in this early age also – with epic literature of heroes and wars won by single combat (de Vries, 1963, p. 112).

It is not possible to trace the course of the Persian and Median conquest, since the Assyrian records are the only literary sources available, but in a steady process of territorial acquisition, on a clan or tribal basis, native states, often as small as a single town, and seldom larger than a group of villages centered around a larger town, would yield their independence to the Iranian intruders. The assumption that the indigenous inhabitants were not annihilated, but were subjected to tribute and labour services by their new overlords, would explain the diversity of the material cultures which we find among the Persians when they first appear on the stage of continuous history.

The Evidence of Sialk

Archaeology confirms this theory, and at Sialk we find the local masons constructing an imposing castle residence on the top of a large mound, for their new master and his knights. There is a change in burial practice, which no longer takes place under the floors of the houses, but in a separate cemetery outside the town. This contains helmets of leather, sun symbols, pottery decorated with warriors slaying monsters, horse trappings and other artifacts which point to the pastoral culture of the steppes.

Interspaced with these warrior graves, are those of humbler people, containing only modest ornaments, and the tools of the artisan and field worker. These latter do not have the characteristic roof-slab of the newcomers, and seem to belong

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to the autochthonous population who had been taken "into the protection" of the horsemen, when palace, temple and fortifications were constructed.

The Assyrians recorded these new fortifications from which the Persian princes and their military followers, served by male and female slaves, and attended by craftsmen and artisans, engaged in their traditional stockbreeding, while levying tribute and labour from the peasant farmers. They also owned farming estates and operated mining enterprises, producing iron, copper and lapis lazuli for export to Assyria, these being worked as family-owned properties using slave labour. Merchandising, however, appears to have remained in the hands of the indigenous peoples, and was carried on under the "protection" of the Iranian 'principes', who took an interest, as profit sharers through taxes, in the development and protection of trading centres and routes. Sialk, on the oasis of Kashan, must have been an important trade centre, and the Aryan prince who built himself a castle at this important trading junction must have been well pleased.

The similarities between the Iranian occupation of Persia and the Achaean occupation of Greece are obvious. In both cases we find a tribal horse-breeding people establishing themselves as a self-conscious ruling class over a talented but predominantly agrarian aboriginal population — and discern the eventual evolution of the invader's social system from a tribal organization to an "heroic" society complete with epic poetry, "principes" and "comitates." This evolution is less well documented than in Greece, and information about the early family system is even more incomplete, since we have to reconstruct this as best we can from laws and customs recorded in the later Achaemenid and Seleusid period.

Early Iranian Social Structure

However, our task is made somewhat easier by the extremely close connection between Zend and Sanskrit, implying that at no great distant past the two had been but dialects of the same language, and the correspondence of certain basic terms relating to social organization. From the fact that the Iranians had a "house father," and a set of names for agnatic relatives (especially for "brother's wives") we may justifiably assume the existence of a joint family household. Beyond the household were clans

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and tribes (Huart, 1927, p. 34). Among the Pasargadae, one clan, the Hakhamanish was pre-eminent, and one of the Hakhamanish leaders, Archaemenes, achieved such fame and influence that his descendants became recognized as a new, separate and elite sub-clan, which was to provide the Iranian empire with its ruling dynasty, known eponymously as the Achaemenids.

The Iranian term for house, (*maniya*, cognate with Sanskrit, *nmana*, Vedic *dhaman*, Latin *domus*, Old Slavic *domu* etc.) seems to have been used interchangeably for "family." This was headed by a house-father or house-holder comparable to the Vedic *dampati*. Similarly, cognate with the Sanskrit *vic*, Greek *fik* (and *oικos*), Latin *vicus*, Goth *veihs*, the Zend term *vis* is believed by the eminent philologist Schrader (1890 p. 400) to mean "to enter or settle" and to refer to a common cattle-ground, and those who share it – this meaning, he believes, being most faithfully preserved in the Iranian. Thus Schrader believes the term refers to a common pasture-land, and the people sharing it, among the Iranian pastoralists; to a *sib* or settlement of farmers, among the Teutonic and Latin peoples; and to a canton and the people of the canton, among the Greeks and Indo-Aryans. The Iranian "pasture chief" or "father" – the head of a lineage or clan group sharing the same territory – was a *vispatis* (Herzfeld 1935, p. 21).

Larger than the *vis*, was the Zend *zantu*, the philological equivalent of the Vedic *janan*. The precise application of the *zantu* cannot be determined among the Iranians, although when Herodotus lists the Median and Persian tribes we may reasonably assume that these were *zantu* (this would be supported by the interpretation given to the Vedic *janan*).

The *Zantupatis* (Herzfeld, 1935, p. 21) eventually became powerful lords of territories, and their followers rose to knightly rank, but the rise of the small principalities over which they ruled did not seem to result in the early disruption of clan and tribal links, although the tribal leaders often owed their prestige to military efficiency. Iranian kings are mentioned by the Assyrians during this early period, but they were not numerous, and it would seem that they represented either tribal or even supra-tribal leaders. Rivalries continued between different clans headed by the lesser nobility, and it was these rivalries which preserved Assyrian pre-eminence for several generations. It was

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not until after 700 B.C. that Iran became more settled, the migrations ceased, and a consolidation of the charismatic 'principes' and his companions began to take place under the leadership of charismatic national kings possessing supposedly divine powers.

The unification of the warring clans into two nations, the Medes and the Persians, was a slow affair, largely because they were dispersed over large areas, divided by sharp mountain barriers, and also because political instability was implicit in their heroic pattern of life. Only the external reality of conflict with the more organized state of Urartu finally achieved inter-tribal cooperation among the Medes under a common king, resulting in an extension of the power of the Median kings to include all the tribes of Median origin.

For a time the Medes dominated the Persians, but the latter reduced the Medes to vassalage following the Scythian invasion, and on the death of the victorious Persian king, Teispar, we find him dividing his new and extensive kingdom equally between his two sons (in accordance with ancient Indo-European tradition), as though it were a part of the family heritage. These sons were Ariarammes, "great king, king of kings, king of the land of Parsa" and Cyrus 1, "great king" of Parsumah. Ariarammes left a gold tablet which tells us of his pride in his Persian kingdom, which, he boasts, "produces good horses," adding almost as an afterthought, "and good men." This is first and foremost the voice of an heroic prince, head of a royal household – not of a polis-conscious patrician.

Yet the atmosphere was not feudal as some writers have assumed. The Achaemenids regarded the state as being their personal household, the national treasury being their personal treasury, and the state was financed by taxes imposed upon non-Persian subject nations, and by income from the royal estates. But the Achaemenids had not abandoned their tribal ties. The declaration of Darius is famous: "Darius, Great King, King of Kings, King of countries containing all kinds of men, King in this great earth far and wide, son of Hystapes, an Achaemenian, a Persian, son of a Persian, an Aryan, having Aryan lineage."

The Behistun inscription, makes it quite clear that Darius still thought of the Persian people as a single family group, its members being the inheritors of a valuable trust – the Persian

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name and Persian blood. For Darius there were two main categories of men: Persians (Aryans) and non-Persians – those "other kinds of men" who belong to "the countries which I seized outside of Persia. I ruled over them; they bore tribute to me; what was said to them by me, that they did; my law held them firm." Full-born Persians were trustees of the same heritage as Darius himself (especially those of his own Achaemenid royal clan) and to them he was the super-trustee, guardian of the tribal trust. Neither he nor his ancestors were regarded by the Iranians as feudal oppressors; the Persian freemen were in a sense all co-trustees with their king, the nobles being the king's companions, primarily, and bureaucrats and officials secondarily, precisely because they were his companions.

The Achaemenid Empire

In the extensive Achaemenid empire, the Persians were the privileged members of a ruling family, and the nobles, formerly presidents of small clan councils, became "law bearers" – judges and governors of the empire. These appointments were made from among the members of his court, it is true – in the same manner that members of the Anglo-Saxon comitates became thegns and earls. But as Herodotus tells us, Darius never forgets his commitment to the great Persian family of whose future and welfare he is the temporary custodian, and when he prays to Ahuramazda to protect his royal house, he prays too for the protection of his entire nation – a thing hardly known in earlier oriental empires – and he prays, furthermore, to the gods of his royal house as well as to Ahuramazda to extend their protection to the entire people:

"May Ahuramazda bear me aid, with the gods of the royal house; and may Ahuramazda protect this country from (hostile) army, from famine, from the Lie. Upon this country may there not come an army, nor famine, nor the Lie; this I pray as a boon from Ahuramazda together with the gods of the royal house. This boon may Ahuramazda together with the gods of the royal house give to me."

The appeal to the gods of the royal house is a survival of the religious responsibilities of Aryan kingship. A man – even a king – is the product of his family – an inseparable part of it. There is a special 'mana' or luck, the 'hamingja' of the pagan

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Scandinavians, the "familial charisma" of Max Weber, which is in the man, and which is his by virtue of his birth. This luck-force can be accumulated by careful breeding, hence the importance of pedigrees (a loose analogy with the old Hawaiian concept may be drawn), and the fame and success of one's ancestors is a part of the family heritage. It is the family *mana*, the family gods, the family ancestors, who are powerful; not the individual himself. Lucky indeed is the country that has for its ruler a sacral king with such 'mana' and accumulated, proven ancestral fortune as Darius of the house of the Achaemenids – one who can pray for the well-being of his countrymen not only to Ahuramazda but also to ancestral gods who have proved their superiority many times in the past.

Our classification of Iranian society as "heroic" rather than "tribal" is based largely on the evidence of the concentration of the power structure around the royal household, with its body of 'comites', as the centre of tribal life. Confirmation is found in Herodotus (1, 96-8) who states that when the Medes elected Deioces king, "his first act was to surround himself with a powerful bodyguard, his second was to make himself a capital (at Ecbatana) which was known as *Hamaden*, or "Meeting Place." The capital which Deioces builds is also a walled city, with a castle in its centre, which fits the pattern already established in Sialk. This was a much more sophisticated castle than the simple oppida which other Indo-European speakers were building in Europe at this time.

It was earlier customary to assume that much of the high ritual of the Median and Persian courts was borrowed from Assyria, and much assimilation may well have taken place. But the more recent trend is to see the Iranian sacral kings as an essentially Indo-European development, growing out of the emphasis upon familial charisma, and having its roots in the 'kavi' of eastern Iran, who would hardly have been influenced by Assyrian traditions. Widengren (1959, p. 259 ff) has analyzed this sacral tradition and made a valuable contribution to Indo-European studies in the process. The trustee philosophy is clearly at the root of sacral kingship, the Iranian kings inheriting their charisma and therefore always being drawn from certain charismatic families. They are elected, no rule of primogeniture applying, but to assist in the election the sungod, through his special animal the horse, would give portents

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to indicate the most suitable candidate (a process referred to by Herodotus). This use of the horse for soothsaying and oracular purposes was common to many Indo-European peoples, including the Germans of the time of Tacitus .

Following the reading of the portents, the king was elected formally by an assembly of the army, comprising all males fit for active duty, which also reminds us of ancient Teutonic custom, whereby a man should prove his ability to mount his horse from a stepping stone of an approved height, before being regarded as fit for public office. Once elected, the king was not a despotic ruler with unlimited powers, and relied not only upon his charisma but also upon the active support of his own family and his body of armed companions, his 'comitatus'. Apart from the reality of his own personality, and the strength of his own household, he was largely in the hands of the tribal and clan nobility, from whom all royal officers were selected.

Law, Custom and Order

As a sacral king, however, his person was inviolable, and even rebels generally stop short at committing regicide. The horror of regicide which swept the crowd that witnessed the death of the English king Charles I was not the product of Christian forbearance, but rather of the ancient respect of the common folk for the sacred person of their hereditary kings, revealing an unbroken and ancient reverence rooted in pagan memories.

As a holy person, the head of the Indo-Aryan king was completely encircled by a ring of fire, which was known as *xvarnah*, denotative of the king's "luck-force," the familial charisma. Fire itself was holy, the fire on the hearth symbolizing the ancestral spirit, but a king's *xvarnah* hovered over his head as a nimbus of fire. Those who entered his presence found it necessary to cover their eyes, for fear that the halo would destroy their sight, and in Sasanid Persia, the king condescended to wear a veil, so as not to harm his subjects by the power of his luck force. Those who entered his council room were still dazzled by the radiance of his being, and customarily expressed their acute discomfort, before his brightness, with the word *misuzam*, literally 'I am burning up'.

Widengren asserts a similar tradition among the Indo-Aryans, whose kings were also directors of ritual, officiating at the national altar – which in Iran was adorned with fire. Manu (L

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VIII, 9) states that the radiance of a king is like that of the sun. But while the Aryan kings, like other Indo-European lords, fought with their armies, the later Iranians never risked their kings in battle – for as dragon-slayers, who brought fertility to the world by releasing the dragon-wives, they were too valuable to lose.

At the time of their arrival in Iran, the Medes and Persians had no codified laws, only customs, and when later it was decided to codify the ancient customs, the new codes were called data from the Indo-European root "to arrange." As we have all heard: "the laws of the Medes and Persians changeth not," for they were conceived as ancient and hallowed traditions, rather than as an invention of a law-making king. To change the laws would have been an affront to the ancestral gods, and even after the official adoption of Zoroastrianism, these gods, the *vithaibish bagaibish*, remained – (the *baga* or bogeys, the "Penates" or gods of the clans and tribes), who could not be offended. The term *vithaibish* derives from *vith*, cognate with *Vece* (Sanskrit) and *vic* (Old German) meaning "gods of the clan" (C. Huart, 1927, p. 80).

Persian law reflected so strongly the ancient Aryan customs to allow several parallels to be drawn with other Indo-European legal systems. "One may presume" says Frye, "that the basis of Achaemenid law was a development from the family or tribal law of the Aryan peoples" (Frye, 1962, p. 105). While there is little evidence of blood feud or composition, and Persian law was renowned for its "protection of the weak against the strong" (something which wergild failed to do), the royal "law bearers," appointed by the court, only dealt with treason and offences against the state, and all civil disputes were handled by local "social" tribunals known as *databara*.

As we have seen, there was no separation in the public mind (such as we would find in a "patrician" society,) between the public treasury and the royal treasury, and the king was likewise the trustee for the nation of all surplus or conquered land. From the surplus he granted estates to the members of the court, all of whom had civic duties to perform. The family of Arsames, royal prince and governor of Egypt, received large estates in Egypt, worked by slaves for his maintenance and expenses, such fiefs being granted to families, however, rather than to individuals. Similarly, to support the large standing

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armies (enlarged 'comitates') still attached conceptually to the royal household, estates known as *qashtu* were granted to freeborn Persian *families*, as collective units in perpetuity, which were at all times required to provide one man for military service (Frye, 1962, p. 112), in much the same way that the holders of from one hide to five hides were expected to provide military personnel of appropriate rank and quality in Anglo-Saxon England. These collective grants to *families* testify to the survival of a "tribal" or collective philosophy in which the family, not the individual was the basic social entity.

Iranian Family Structure

The Iranian family was clearly patriarchal, patrilineal, and predominantly patrilocal. There is no indication from a study of kinship terminology of any significant affinal ties. Marriage was a sacred duty (VTSP. 11,7), and the choosing of a wife was definitely a matter of family concern. The term for family, *tauma* (Behist.1.8,28,45) literally meant "seed," while the cognate world *taoxman* means "kindred." Internal strife within the family was regarded as sacrilegious (*Yasna*, LXV.7.)

Louis H. Gray (E.R.E. p. 745) expresses an opinion with which few would differ, when he says that "pride in an honoured lineage has always been a characteristic of Iranians" and certainly the Avesta confirms this view of contemporary Iranian society. Unfortunately, the portions of the Avesta *Husparan Nash*, which dealt with many aspects of the family, appear to have been lost.

Five types of marriage are recognised in the Avesta. These are *Padsah*, marriage to a "ruling" or privileged wife – a woman who has never been betrothed before and who is married with the consent of her parents; *Yukan*, to an only child, whose first child will belong to her parents, but who will, however, bring one third of their property as a dowry, to compensate for this disadvantage; *Satar*, to an adopted female, who brings a dowry provided by the relatives of a man who has died childless, half of whose children will belong to the house of the deceased man, to whom she will ultimately belong in heaven; *Cakar*, to a widow, who is re-marrying, but in the life after death will belong to her first husband; and lastly *Xud-sarai*, to the "self-disposing," who marries without the consent of her

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parents, and inherits no property from her parent house until such time as her eldest son (if she produces a son) gives her to his father as a true *Padsah* wife.

The implication of these five types of marriage is of interest. In the *Yukan* and *Satar* we see obvious arrangements to ensure the continuity of the eternal family in the male line, the wife being granted permission to marry only on the understanding that her parental house will have a claim on certain of the offspring. It is explained in further discussion in the Avesta, that *Satar* is arranged by the close kin of the deceased, either before or else immediately after the death of a childless man, both the groom and the bride usually being close blood relatives of the person for whom they are deputising.

The *Cakar* marriage is a marked contrast from the practice of *suttee*, traces of which are found in many early Indo-European societies, not only among Indo-Aryans but also it would seem in pre-historic Europe as well as on the Pontic steppes. *Xud-sarai* is also extremely lenient on the daughter who marries without her parent's permission, and the existence of this form of marriage can perhaps be interpreted as reflecting a survival of the ancient tradition of bride-capture, traces of which can be found among the Indo-Aryans as well as in prehistoric Europe. The fact that this is a recognised form of marriage, would tempt us to accept the latter explanation, and the provision that the son may conduct a ritual which will make his mother into a full *Padsah* wife implies only a limited social disapproval.

Polygamy was undoubtedly common among the upper classes, as both Herodotus (1,135) and Strabo (p. 733) inform us, Strabo giving us the same information for both Medes and Persians. Despite polygamy the solemn unity of the family is indicated by the obviously severe disapproval with which the Avesta regards filial disobedience and family discords (*Yasna* lxv, 7). Children who were disobedient to their parents would be tormented in hell where they would call eternally for their absent mother and father.

The desire for sons with which to maintain the household is quoted by Herodotus (I, 221) who tells us that the possession of many sons is, next to military prowess, the symbol of Persian excellence in a man. But what is of particular interest to us is the clear evidence of interest not merely in the perpetuation of the family name, but also in careful selection of marriage

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partners. Marriage into a family of good reputation (Visp. II,7) was regarded as a blessing equivalent to an honorable lineage, and families apparently took trouble to find worthy brides for their sons and worthy husbands for their daughters.

The interest in choice of husbands for daughters suggests the importance of affinal connections and bilateral lineage, which we seem to find frequently in association with heroic ages. Iranian women were only dowered when the husband-to-be would not possess all of their children, one or more of whom could be claimed by the members of another family for the perpetuation of their house.

An exceptional characteristic of the Avestan marriage rules, which may reflect a later rather than an ancient tradition, is the belief that the best of all marriages was to the next of kin, and the closer the relative, the more holy the marriage (Gah. IV, 8 - Yast. XXIV,). This must indicate a breaking down of the clan system, and would be further evidence of the emergence of a heroic-type society under the Achaemenians. It shows, however, the continued strength of a familistic philosophy, and the all-absorbing significance of consanguine ties, and may be preserved by a brother-sister basis of procreation! Thus Cambyses married his own sister, and Herodotus (III, 31) says that "the Persians were wont to cohabit with their sisters." Both the Greeks and the Romans firmly believed that marriage between close relatives was very frequent among the Persians.

These provisions are in some degree parallel to the levirate, and rules of adoption are also detailed clearly – these being designed to prevent a family from dying out. There is a special type of adoption known as 'appointed' adoption, where the nearest relatives provide a son for a householder who is dying without male offspring in order that the "soul of the dead man might escape the torture of hell." By appointing an adopted son to the dying relative "it is as though they have made the deceased alive." (Sad. Dar. XVIII, 12, 19).

Ancestor worship, although not an explicit element in Zoroastrianism, survived into the Zoroastrian period, and (as among the Slavs and Indo-Aryans) the dead were remembered by periodic feasts (*myazd*) at which sacred cakes (*dron*) were consecrated and benedictions (*Afringan*) said for the souls of the dead, who averted misfortunes from the living (Sad. Dar. XIII). Spiegel, in his *Avesta*, states "there cannot be any doubt

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that the worship of the *Fravishis* played an important role with the Iranians, though, perhaps more in private than in public. The Khordad Avesta contains information that there are *Fravishis* for each family and clan, who bring water from the celestial sea "each of them to his kinsfolk" (Spiegel, III, p. 88).

The Problem of the Magi

Prior to the rise of Zoroastrianism, Iranian religion must have corresponded closely to that of the Indo-Aryans, and the origins of the Magi – the priestly 'tribe' – are still disputed. Before Dumézil entered into the field, there were many who argued that the Indo-European tradition did not include professional priests, and that it would be contrary to Indo-European tradition to have a tribe of priests (Herodotus I, 101) in the way that the Levi were priests in Israel. Some say the Magi descended from the indigenous peoples (with a knowledge of Chaldean magic) for as Frye points out (Frye 1962, p. 74) the names of the six Median tribes quoted by Herodotus are "a mixture of Iranian and non-Iranian names." Their habit of exposing the bodies of the dead was decidedly non-Indo-European in origin, and even after the Magi became priests to the kings, the bodies of the Achaemenid kings were still coated with wax, then laid to rest in imposing tombs which all could see, instead of being exposed to the birds of prey. Notwithstanding the views of N. Ghose (Ghose 1937, p. 75) and others who hold to the Magian origin of Zoroastrianism, Frye (1962, p. 38) and others believe that the Zoroastrian religion evolved among the royal *kavi* or priestly nobles of the Persians. That Zoroastrianism was heavily influenced by Mesopotamian and Egyptian ideas, cannot however be denied, Breasted having pointed to Egyptian influences – winged figures surmounted by the crown of Osiris – in later Zoroastrian art.

It is, of course, possible that the Magians, like other Indo-European priestly classes such as the Brahmins, may have been an occupational group, derived from the noble class, who practised endogamy and so became a separate clan or tribe (Culican, 1965, p. 173), and this would support Dumezil's tripartite theory. In any case, Myres says that in early times "though a Magian chaplain stands by and chants, it does not much matter what he sings, a Persian is priest in his own house" (Myres,

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1953, p. 149), and although priests gained considerable pre-eminence in later Persian society, religious worship and family life were inseparably interwoven among the earlier Iranians, religion being a function of the family rather than the reverse.

Thus Herodotus portrays Iranian family worship, saying the hearth was worshipped under the name of *Tabita*. Related closely to the hearth was fire, which the *Avesta* (Spiegel, III, p. 181) calls *Asha-Vahista* and describes as "the house-companion of all living people." A very archaic Indo-European characteristic is the absence of temples from early Iranian worship, sacrifices being conducted out of doors.

The old nature gods did not have human form, and Herodotus said, "they do not think the gods to be of human nature, as the Greeks do" (II, 131-2) Only following the emergence of an heroic type society in place of the older tribal organization, did the old nature gods receive human forms, some of them, the *Devas* of the *Veda*, for example being rejected, and downgraded to become the Daevas or evil spirits of the Zend Avesta.

Herodotus has left us a good account of the blood sacrifices of pre-Zoroastrian origin. The ancient Iranian religion was polytheistic, and nature gods and sky gods were worshipped which were clearly a part of an original Indo-Aryan pantheon. Mithra, symbolising the sun, later became the basis of the Mithraic cult so popular among the pagan Teutonic mercenaries of Imperial Rome in later centuries. The Moon, Earth, Fire, Water and Wind were all deified. It is also easy to see how the original Indo-European ideas would have been substantially affected by the absorption of autochthonous cults, as presumably was the case with the adoption of the Mother Goddess Anahita.

Although ritual responsibility was traditionally vested in the head of the household, clan or tribe, and in particular in the members of the royal family, the priests who supervised all sacrifices during the Zoroastrian period were members of the Magi, whom Herodotus describes as Medes, but who may have had their origin in a professional, non-genealogical "guild" which would tend to develop into a genealogical clan. Whereas tribal Indo-European societies seldom reveal a developed class of religious specialists, these frequently tend to emerge in more complex patrician and heroic societies.

Certainly the new Zoroastrian religion implied a distinctly

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moral ethic, but one which was particularly adapted for a heroic and even nationalist society. It is hard to believe, from the evidence adduced, that the Persians could have welcomed Zoroastrianism as they did, if it were not primarily indigenous. The truth probably lies in a process of syncretism, resulting in a forceful blend of Aryan and pre-Aryan religious concepts. This new, largely monotheistic religion survived in Iran for so long as the Aryan overlords retained their aristocratic control over the subject indigenous population, but was eliminated from the Iranian scene when that country was overrun by invading Arabs, who successfully imposed the more equalitarian Islamic religion throughout the limits of the Persian empire. Following the Islamic victory and the disappearance of Zoroastrianism from the Persian scene, we may suspect, also, a final assimilation of the Aryan ruling class into the indigenous population, both biologically and culturally.

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FROM IE **akʷmon* AND GERMANIC *hammer/heaven*

J. PETER MAHER

Indo-European languages present data that prove utterly intractable until and unless brought into correlation with the givens of ethnography and archeology. The Germanic terms represented by English *hammer/heaven*, German *Hammer/Himmel*, and Old Icelandic *hamarr* 'hammer, cliff, Thor's stone hammer' resisted interpretation before a correlation of words and the relevant things, Indo-European things, was made.

In Indo-European languages a single term, **H₂ekʷmon*, more conservatively **akʷ-mon* 'sharp/thing', is involved in words for stormy sky, thunder-lightning and stone axes. Explaining the seriation is simple: an axe, i.e., an edged thing, in the culture context of the Neolithic, was perforce of stone; through the perceptual universal of **synechdoche** (an ancient discovery of figure-ground reversal), a term specifying a quality (sharp), also being of stone as to material, is taken to mean 'stone axe', then simply 'stone' in many derivative cultures. This axe provided an excellent metaphor for 'lightning-thunder', which of course was worshipped. And as thunder-and-lightning are manifestation of one state of the heavens, the most awesome one at that, such a term is **metonymic** for 'sky'. – In addition to my detailed arguments previously published, I add a new hypothesis: that the thundering dark sky indicated by **akʷmon* was generalized, not through some vague and unspecified development, but by specific and well-known syntactic dynamics, which I will now set forth.

In our verbalizations of the syntax of phenomena, i.e., the things that are reported by our senses, it is the commonest thing to designate a phenomenon presenting segregated givenness with a noun, but also to name a quality, one of many inherent in the thing, with an adjective, e.g. *snow* is *white, cold, crystalline, drifted* etc. The adjective focuses what at the moment we find the salient perceptual feature of the complex phenomenon to be. Thus, though it adds no information to the bare word *snow* to say *white snow, cold snow, driven snow* etc. the adjective serves to single out the salient semantic feature. That is, when we say *white snow*, the

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adjective is not intended to add new information, but to foreground **which feature** of snow our attention is drawn to. Hence, a receiver can assign the meaning 'white' to both tokens, or for one reason or another, to only one of the redundant expressions of it and effectively the result is the same in either cases. (1)

Now, there is a pair of locutions in German that permit us in light of the foregoing – to see how the meaning of **ak-mon* 'thunder-sky' developed to that of 'sky' (unspecified). I refer to the stock phrases *unter heiterem Himmel* 'under a clear sky' and *unter grauem Himmel* 'under a gray sky'. The latter would be, I submit, the older collocation: it betrays the same kind of semantic concord/tautology as *snow white, flying/thrown missile, falling rain, streaming tears, squawling baby, barking dog, toro bravo, piping hot (kettle), brand new calf,* or *pitch black night.*

As so many English speaking parents are aware, our children take *pitch black* not in its etymological sense of the comparison 'black as pitch'; these city-bred youngters do not see the simile there. They take *pitch* to be an intensifier of the following term. That is an abductive inference; deductively, they create syntagmas with their new-found intensifier: we have heard *pitch white, pitch red, pitch hungry, pitch cold* etc. The German phrase *es tut sehr Weh* once meant 'it does sore pain'; but it now means 'it hurts a lot'. Meanwhile the lexicon, still holds more conservative *(un)-versehrt* '(un)wounded, harmed', *Kriegsversehrter* 'war-wounded (veteran)'. Again, *tock-still* is 'as still as a stock (stick)', hence *also* 'very still'; but now we also hear *stock finster* 'completely dark', *stock besoffen* 'totally drunk'. Cf. English *stoned* 'drunk (on booze)' and 'heavily drugged', from the matrix blending *stone cold, stone dead, dead drunk, stone dead drunk.*

Thus, if we assume an etymological sense of 'thunder sky', that is a lowering, cloudy, dark sky for *Himmel/heaven* etc.,

(1) Indeed the logically tautologous nature of the elements of such a syntagma permit distortions by humorists and/or litigious nit-pickers: my son Paul (at age 10), grumbling about having to accompany his elders on a walk in Carinthia, was solicited by his aunt to show some enthusiasm: "Komm, Pauli, wir werden eine sehr alte Ruine sehen"; his response: "Was für Ruinen gibt es sonst?". – This game, known in medieval linguistic theory as *fallacia accentus*, shows certainly that a ruin is quite expectably old, that "old ruin" is logically a gross tautology; but natural language is more complex than the inbred thing called "logic."

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which the ample evidence strongly suggests, we can understand that such a tautologous phrase as *unter grauem Himmel* permitted the perception of the term *heaven* as 'sky' in general, with only the adjective 'gray' being understood as the sign of 'darkness'. Next, *unter heiterem Himmel* 'under bright, sunny, clear sky' is coined; but such was a possibility only when *Himmel* no longer specified only the dark, i.e., cloudy, sky.

A corresponding development must also be assumed for Slavic *nebo* 'sky/heaven', a cognate of Sanskrit *nabhas* 'cloud, darkness', Latin *nebula* 'cloud', Greek *nephélē* 'cloud(s)', German *Nebel* 'fog' and *Niebelungen* 'cloud-dwellers' etc., and mutatis mutandis English *sky*, from Norse *sky* 'cloudy sky'.

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BOOK REVIEWS

CULTURAL BIAS

By Mary Douglas. Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Occasional Paper #35. 1978.

This small 60 page monograph attempts to develop a system for comparing and classifying cultures. Some emphasis is placed upon the role of speech and language in determining cultural traditions but the major emphasis is on traditional Durkheimian concepts of the influence of the group over its members. One suspects that the term "cultural bias" was chosen as a title simply to make what is essentially a traditional work appear to be "with it", in terms of academically fashionable debate concerning "bias" and "discrimination". However, the author appears to hold the view, widely accepted among traditional anthropologists and sociologists, that bias and in-group discrimination are merely a part of the cultural substructure of every society, rather than social problems which it is the duty of social scientists to exorcise.

More specifically, the authors propose to classify societies on the basis of high or low "group" and high or low "grid" dimensions. By "grid" she refers to Durkheimian solidarity at the "mechanical" level of social evolution, while by "group" she seems to indicate the type of social cohesion deriving from Durkheimian "organic" societies. "Grid" measures the degree to which society ascribes social roles for specific classes of individuals; the rating which she gives on the "group" dimension refers to the degree to which individuals are controlled by organized and purposive social groups operating within the framework of more complex societies. While the work is not startlingly original, it is perhaps to be commended for directing thought back into established and useful theoretical channels and away from the beguiling tendency to dress social values in the guise of science.

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HUMAN SKELETAL REMAINS: EXCAVATION, ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION.
By Douglas H. Ubelaker. Chicago, Aldine. (1978)

A new volume in the Aldine Manuals on Archaeology Series, this work is divided into four sections: techniques for burial excavation, skeletal description, and osteological analysis of cultural and pathological samples.

Advising readers against using his text as a handbook, because of the wide range of circumstances and problems facing excavation and analysis in different areas, Ubelaker bases his work mainly on his own extensive experience in the Americas. This does not invalidate, but slightly constricts, the utility of his exposition.

As a problem-oriented approach to archeology, the text is to be highly recommended.

AFRICAN FOLKLORE IN THE NEW WORLD
By Daniel J. Crowby (Ed.). Austin, University of Texas Press (1977)

Since Herskowitz claimed that the Africans imported into the New World abandoned the cultural traditions of Africa, and that they borrowed European and Christian elements to form the peculiar tradition that comprises Afro-American folklore and social behavior, many voices have been raised to claim that slavery eliminated the African tradition and produced its own peculiar "culture of poverty."

Daniel here indicates that the style and treatment given to the borrowed myths and cultural traits remained essentially African – a view which has recently been supported by other researches such as Dillard, Vlach and Oliver.

THE FORGOTTEN PEOPLE OF THE PACIFIC
By Phillipe Diole. Barrons' Educated Services (1978)

A beautifully illustrated account of Melanesia, by one of Jacques Cousteau's collaborators. This text does not attempt to present original academic research, but is a most attractive addition to the amateur anthropologist's library. Interesting data on early European exploration of Melanesia (when it was ethologically ever more colorful) is included.

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THE MAKING OF PSYCHOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY
By George D. Spindler. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1978

The distinguished British anthropologist, Evans-Pritchard, once said that there can be no history that is not anthropology, and no anthropology which is not history. Today we seem to be waiting for someone to make a similar statement about the relationship between cultural (and possibly also physical) anthropology and psychology. George Spindler, a veteran of American anthropologists, has come close to saying this in *The Making of Psychological Anthropology*. While this relationship is already widely accepted among anthropologists, it is the psychologists who are at last coming to appreciate the close interrelationship between psychology and anthropology.

Contributors to this volume include Victor Barnouw, George Devereux, George deVos, John J. Honigmann, Francis L.K. Hsu, Weston La Barre, Margaret Mead, Louise Spindler, Melford E. Spiro, A.F.C. Wallace, John and Beatrice Whiting, Erika Bourguignon, Michael Cole, Robert B. Edgerton, Theodore and Nancy Graves, Douglass Price-Williams, Theodore Schwartz, and Victor Turner. The contributions of these authors tend to follow the lines we would expect from each of them. Thus Margaret Mead deals with "Psychologically Relevant Responses in Ethnological Field Work," while Edgerton gets down to the question of the relationship between heredity and environment, especially with regard to deviant behavior, but prefers to stress the common genetic heritage of all mankind rather than to deal with recent significant genetic research into the relationship between heredity and specific forms of deviant behavior.

UNIVERSALISM VERSUS RELATIVISM IN LANGUAGE AND THOUGHT: PROCEEDINGS OF A COLLOQUIUM ON THE SAPIR-WHORF HYPOTHESIS.
Edited by Rix Pinxten. Contributions to the Sociology of Language #11. The Hague: Mouton. (1977)

The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, suggesting that language imposes its own limits and constraints upon the cultural potential of the thinker, thereby tending to perpetuate basic cultural attitudes, has been strongly challenged by linguists such as Noam Chomsky,

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and today we frequently find references to the "now-discredited" views of Sapir and Whorf. Chomsky's emphasis upon the deep structure common to all languages and the universality of basic innate ideas is directly in line with his historical materialism, indicating, as it does, the basic uniformity of all peoples and cultural needs, and thereby permitting arguments for the supremacy of economic forces as the shaping power behind human behavior.

This volume, published by Mouton, is of interest and significance in revealing that the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is neither dead nor totally discredited. The authors introduce many new ideas and angles to the discussion, leaving the reader to conclude, perhaps, that the debate between universalism and relativism is not yet concluded, and that the *relative* significance of universals and relatives may well only be understood by further advances in the natural sciences, particularly in molecular biology.

PERSPECTIVE IN ETHOLOGY: SOCIAL BEHAVIOR
By P. P. G. Bateson and Peter H. Klopfer (Editor). New York, Plenum Press (1978)

Peter Klopfer is one of the best regarded names in the field of ethology, and this new text, edited jointly with P.P.G. Bateson, is a valuable addition to the subject.

An initial article on the genetics of social behavior draws attention to the role of social systems in influencing the selection of those who participate in the reproductive process — and thereby influencing the course of evolution. This is an important new aspect to evolutionary thought, indicating the two-way interrelationship between biology and social organization, which has been the topic of considerable discussion in recent years.

Again, in later articles, authors Bateson and Kagan clarify the fact that there is no direct conflict or opposition between environment and heredity (as supposed by the outdated nurture/nature arguments), but here similarly a two-way relationship exists. However, an article by Hofer correctly stresses the early environment and experiences of the young animal in shaping later development — within the limits set by heredity.

There are other articles on important topics, such as the

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effect of isolation (resulting in fewer competitors and a narrower range of environmental influences) on animal life.

The most debatable chapter is that contributed by L.B. Slobodkin, who discusses the possibility of basing a "philosophy of history" on the concept of evolution. What he seems really to be talking about is the fact that while evolution *is* history, we cannot assume that all life forms will necessarily move "onwards and upwards" from simplicity to complexity. But there is nothing new in this fact, and many academic authorities remain somewhat perplexed by the mechanism of evolution, which in the short term frequently eliminates many species, stocks and warrants which would otherwise seem to have superior long-term survival potential.

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